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of the Balkans

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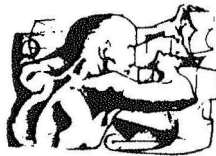


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b



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OTTOMAN – TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE BALKANS,
misunderstood, neglected, destroyed. . .

a: Imaret of Mihaloğlu, Ihtiman (Bulg.), 1390s.
Situation 1989;

b: Verria (Greece) Orta Cami, 15th century.
Situation 1986;

c: Shoumen (Bulg.) Sa'at Camii, early 18th century, blown up in 1985.
Remains of its minaret, 1986.

INTRODUCTION

For half a millennium much of Southeast Europe was an integral part of the Islamic world and shared fully in its political, economic and cultural life. Balkan cities were among the largest of the Muslim Empire, and some of the most important owe their very existence to the active urbanisation policy of that state: the Empire of the Ottoman Turks. As examples there are Sarajevo the capital city of Bosnia, and its two other largest cities, Banja Luka and Mostar, or Tirana, capital of Albania, or Elbasan and Korça, not to mention many smaller towns in Bulgaria. Places which today are hardly known, such as Didymoteichon and Giannitsa in Greece, were in the past eminent centres of Islamic learning. Numerous are the cities which developed from a minor walled town or castle into a large commercial and cultural centre after the Ottoman conquest had brought unity and lasting peace: Plovdiv, Shoumen, Sofia and Jambol in present-day Bulgaria, Kavalla and Komotini in Greece are examples, and there are scores of smaller towns.

In the new towns of the Ottoman Balkans, as well as in the developing older ones, a new kind of Islamic architecture evolved, differing greatly from what had gone before. This new style visibly bore the mark of its Islamic past, especially the experience of the Seljuks of Asia Minor, from where the first architects were recruited. The local Byzantino-Slavic styles of the Balkans had their influence too. Yet the result differs from all others in its simple and surveyable forms, with decorative elements concentrated in a few places and the dominating importance of the dome. In a way Ottoman architecture mirrors the pragmatic outlook of the Ottoman state, as well as its centralised, hierarchic nature.

Ottoman architecture came into being in a land with no tradition of Islamic culture. Buildings such as mosques, baths or khans were virtually unknown in the Balkans; the institution of khans in towns or caravanserais along the main roads was a novelty, not to speak of the Bedesten or the Zaviye-Mosque (T-Plan), which are typical Ottoman creations. After the southern Balkans had been incorporated into the emerging empire in the second half of the 14th century, Muslim-Turkish administrators, soldiers and civilians settled in and alongside the old walled towns, and masses of peasants and Yürük cattle breeders came over from Anatolia to settle the land where ever there was room. There

was then a sudden need for Islamic buildings in large numbers; and this took place at a time when Ottoman architecture had not yet crystallised. This sudden need revolutionised Ottoman building and was, in my opinion, a powerful factor in shaping Ottoman art. What was required was an architecture with simple but monumental forms, systematic in plan and easy to build. Exquisitely decorated buildings in the tradition of the Anatolian Seljuks remained a rarity. In the formation of this new style, the Balkans played a great role. The new style was soon to evolve its own code of aesthetics and reached full maturity in the first half of the 15th century. The great buildings in Edirne, Skopje or Plovdiv bear ample witness to that.

In the Balkan countries monumental examples of all phases of Ottoman architecture can still be found, beginning with the mosque and hospice (imaret) of Ghazi Evrenos in Komotini and his khan in Ilıca/Loutro Trajanopolis, built in the 1370s, with the oldest part of the Old Mosque of Jambol, a decade later, and with the Imaret of Mihaloğlu in Ihtiman in Bulgaria and the hamams of Didymoteichon and Giannitsa, both from the 1390s, and ending with the government buildings, schools and hospitals of the early 20th century.

Ottoman architecture in the Balkans comprises a great number of types: mosques, schools and hot baths play an important role, as is understandable in so thoroughly an Islamic state as was that of the Ottoman Turks. Yet it is noticeable that utilitarian buildings are often much larger in size than buildings with a religious function; e.g., stone-built market halls (*bedesten*), covered shopping streets (*arasta*), monumental bridges, aqueducts, or huge caravanserais. These utilitarian buildings are an eloquent witness to the pragmatic spirit of the Ottomans, combining, as they did, beauty with usefulness.

There is one aspect which should never be forgotten in an evaluation of the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans: the capital cities of the Empire were situated somewhere else. Setting aside Edirne, which is technically in the Balkans but usually counted as in Turkey proper, there are no imperial buildings comparable with those in the capital cities of Bursa or Istanbul. In the Balkans, no equivalent of the Alhambra of Granada or the Taj Mahal of Agra was ever produced. What we find is good provincial architecture, with specific features of its own in the first phase but dominated by the art of the capital cities in the classical phase. The only really imperial buildings were the road-stations on the Istanbul–Belgrade highway, such as in Uzunca-Ova, Harmanlı or Tatar Pazarcık, all in Bulgaria (and all disappeared), the Süleymanic aqueduct of Kavalla, or bridges such as that over the Drina in Bosnia.

Hence, no enormous mosques should be expected in the Balkans, because there was no imperial city, no need for grand representative

structures and no great mass of Muslims needing such buildings. Yet the total architectural production of the Ottomans in the Balkans was enormous. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi collected information on almost 20,000 buildings of all sizes, suited to the needs of the widely dispersed Muslim communities, and often, in spite of their relatively small size, of great monumentality and artistic value.

The importance of Turkish Islamic architecture in the Balkans of today is evaluated very differently in the various successor states of the Empire. This is closely related to the manner in which the particular state came into being and with present-day politics and economic conditions. In countries which have not yet accepted and digested their past as it was, countries still in search for their own identity, with the process of 'Geschichtsbewältigung' unfinished, Ottoman architecture is often interpreted as being the product of their own creative genius: thus in fact as the work of Albanian, Bulgarian or Greek architects and master builders. In other countries, where the past has been digested, the imperial character of this art, radiating from Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul is stressed: thus an art transplanted from East to West, without however, forgetting the local component. Yugoslav research (Andrej Andrejević) has even stressed the point that in the 16th and 17th centuries Ottoman-Turkish elements, decorative as well as structural, deeply influenced the Serbian-Orthodox architecture of some districts. Elsewhere such points are denied and late 18th- and 19th-century realities (where Christian masters indeed carried out most Ottoman construction work) are simply projected back into the 15th and 16th century.

In the last twenty years the Ottoman archives have yielded important and previously wholly unknown sources on the technical organisation of Ottoman architecture. The accounts of the greatest of all Ottoman building projects, the Süleymaniye compound, composed of eleven monumental structures, have been published by Ö.L. Barkan in two bulky volumes: *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaretî İnşaatı*, 2 vols (Ankara, 1972, 1979). I, myself have found dozens of accounts of smaller building projects in the Balkans, basically 15th- and 16th-century but also from the 17th and early 18th century. From these sources it becomes very clear that the planning, design and day-to-day organisation was firmly in Ottoman hands. Architects and workleaders, trained in the capital, were dispatched to the province. Models of what to build were sent with them. Clear-cut cases are those of the big Zincirli Kule in Thessaloniki (1537-39), of the mosque of Haseki Sultan in Svilengrad (1558), or of the new castle of Navarino (1573). No model has survived, it seems, but we find them well depicted in the miniatures of the *Book of Festivities*, when guild processions took place at the occasion of the circumcision of

the sons of Sultan Murad III (1582). With the help of these models the individual patrons, or the state commission, could decide what kind of mosque or fortress they wanted. Detailed plans and elevations, such as for the medieval cathedrals of Western Europe (Cologne or Strasbourg, for example) have not yet been found in the Ottoman archives and I doubt whether they were ever made.

At state building projects a government official kept the accounts and the local Cadi scrutinised them before they were sent to Istanbul for approval. The money usually came from provincial taxes, part of which was not remitted to Istanbul but used on the spot. In the case of private buildings, as the bulk of the great projects in the provinces were paid for locally, by the local governors and high ranking members of the military or the administration, that money likewise did not need to be transferred. In contrast to building projects in medieval Europe, where it could take ages before the necessary amount of money was brought together, Ottoman building projects were finished within a few years because money and labour were directly at hand. The labourforce was recruited locally. The central government dispatched orders to the Cadis of the districts adjacent to the site of the project, ordering them to assemble such and such a number of stone cutters, carpenters, chalk-burners, bricklayers, etc., to give them money for the journey and have their names inscribed in two registers, and then to send them off to the building site. One register remained in the Cadi's office, the other was sent to the site. To make sure that the men really arrived, they each had to provide a guarantor before they were actually paid. The only things the patrons were interested in were "experienced, well-trained masters, experts in their craft". At the site the men were paid daily, and lists of their names, the number of days they had worked (there was a considerable amount of part-time work), and the money they got were noted day by day. All the accounts are kept in the difficult administrative script used in the Ottoman bureaucracy, the *Siyakat* script, with the numbers often coded and many special signs and abbreviations used. The language of the accounts is more often than not Persian, mixed with Arabic and Turkish words, as well as some specifically local Greek or Slavic technical terms. These accounts testify to the high professional standards of the Ottoman bureaucracy at its prime.

Through these detailed sources we can easily see who in fact constructed Ottoman buildings. For the Süleymaniye it appears that of the 1122 stone cutters engaged, 89 per cent were Muslims, sons of Muslims; of the 367 carpenters, 77 per cent were Muslims. In fact the two groups 'make' the building. The role of the bricklayer is subordinate. Disregarding the workers who came from Istanbul itself, the largest single groups of stone cutters came from the old Seljuk

centres of Amasya, Kayseri and Konya. The largest groups of Muslim stone cutters from the Balkans came from such thoroughly Turkified cities as Plovdiv/Filibe (in 1489 it had 796 Muslim households to 78 Christian ones, and among the Muslims almost no local converts), or other centres with a large Turkish population, such as Serres, Skopje or Thessaloniki. It is remarkable that almost no Bulgarian Christian masters were active in the construction of the Süleymaniye. This is in the greatest possible contrast with the situation in the 19th-century Ottoman building projects. The smaller projects of the 15th- and 16th-century Balkans show a similar composition of masters. It goes without saying that in districts where the Muslims were only a small minority, the role of the local Christian masters was much bigger. Yet all key positions were in the hands of well-trained Ottoman Muslims. In fact the Ottoman state in the early and classical period was very little interested in the religious or ethnic background of its labourforce. Such things belong to the 19th-century idea of nationalism and should not be projected back to times when they did not exist. The records mention, time and again, that “good and experienced masters” had to be found. Not more. Hence we can often see that Yanni, son of Dimitraki and Manol, son of Radoslav earned more money than Arslan, son of Suyakdı or Mehmed, son of Mustafa, simply because they were better workmen.

The records also tell us how and where the building stone, the wood, and iron and lead for the roof covering was procured, then transported to the building site on so many carts for such a daily hire. There are minute enumerations of all imaginable materials from paint to nails and coloured glass, or goldleaf for the crescent on top of the building, or linseed oil and hemp to make pipes watertight. An important piece of evidence, supporting the Ottoman records in an unexpected manner, was the discovery of an old-Bulgarian inscription on a brick. The brick was found in the 1960s when the mosque of Firuz Bey in Tirnovo was demolished. According to the Arabic inscription above its entrance, this mosque was built in 1435. The old-Bulgarian text was written when the clay was still soft and states: “Kosta, son-in-law of Yanako, 10,000 on the 27th of the month June, these karamidi (bricks) were made and built in the masgit of Ferizbeg”. (*Arheologija*, Sofia 1967 2, pp. 27–35) The Bulgarian study on this text not only concluded that the workman possessed a good education, but also that he was the architect of the mosque and that this proved that Ottoman architecture, from the very beginning, was a Bulgarian affair. This, without being able to compare the building with a dozen similar works in Edirne, all built in the purest Ottoman style, and without a notion of the existence of the rich Ottoman archival material. In fact the brick from Tirnovo shows how

the procurement of building materials was entrusted to locals in the manner indicated by the paybooks.

The copy books of the correspondence between the central government and the provinces (*Mühimme Defterleri*) show us that vezirs and other statesmen also made use of the administrative machinery to organise the labour force and procurement of building materials for their own building projects—such as quarrying stone near Didymoteichon for the Hamam of Sokollo Mehmed Pasha in Edirne, or lead from the mines of Kratovo in Macedonia for the khans and mosque of the same person in Lüleburgas, in Turkish Thrace. This rich material deserves a monograph, something I am currently working on.

The Ottoman accounts not only tell us who actually carried out the work in the Balkans but also explain why, at the time when the empire was in its prime, there was such a large degree of uniformity in style between buildings in districts so far from one another as Thrace, the Morea or Albania. They simply mirror the strictly centralised bureaucratic empire, with all initiatives radiating from Istanbul. Only in the first century of Ottoman art, say between 1360 and 1460, was there room for local currents, and in these formative years innovative experiments did take place. The plans of mosques, khans and hamams came from Seljuk Anatolia, the overall shape and proportions show Turkish taste, but the masonry is often in the local Balkan tradition: cloisonné, or, in the cheaper buildings, broken stone, plastered over and with imitation cloisonné painted and cut in the plaster. Only in the more expensive buildings, such as the Mehmed Bey Mosque in Serres (1492), or the urban complex of Lüleburgas (1560s), was the fine Seljuk ashlar technique from Central Anatolia used. It goes without saying that in the 17th century, when the grip of the central administration slowly loosened, local forces became more prominent: in other words, the architecture became less Ottoman–Turkish and more local and Balkan. Yet, in the great centres works in the style of the capital were still erected, even in this later period. The grand mosque of Ibrahim Pasha in Razgrad (1716), an example of the “colossal style” of the late-classical period, or the elegant Lâle Devri mosque, school and library of Halil Pasha in Shoumen (1744) amply testify to the continued influence of the capital.

Time, and especially men, have dealt harshly with the works of Ottoman architecture in the Balkans. Its stages of development and the interaction between individual buildings will never be known in all their fullness: too much has vanished. In the 19th century, but even more so in our 20th century, Ottoman buildings have been destroyed to a stunning extent. Of the 165 medreses mentioned in the official lists of the 17th century, only six or seven are still standing. According to the

census and taxation register of the small sandjak of Eđriboz (Negroponte) in central Greece, in 1521 there were 34 large and small mosques, six hamams, ten schools and six dervish convents for the small Muslim congregation. Of all these buildings the ruin of one single hamam is still extant. In the great Turkish centre of Shoumen in Northern Bulgaria the Ottoman Yearbook of 1869/70 mentions forty mosques. In 1980 eight were still standing, in 1989 only three. The others had been blown up with dynamite and removed by bulldozer—including the “Old Mosque” from the 1490s and two exquisite Lâle Devri buildings from the early 18th century. And these few examples can be multiplied.

Ottoman architecture in the Balkans is no easy topic to study. In all Balkan countries in the last 25 years, under whatever political regime, the present author has been arrested and confined, his notes or films confiscated—most recently in April '89 in Kumanovo, Yugoslavia, for no other reason than taking photographs of Ottoman buildings.

Ottoman architecture in the Balkans is the legacy of a yet undigested past. It still remains too little known. In some Balkan countries it is still easier to blow a mosque up than to restore it. To make a building known to the international public often means to influence its fate in a positive way. Some studies reproduced here have been instrumental in the process of saving and restoring some important works, so that they could be handed down to generations to come. It is therefore a good thing that Variorum has decided to collect some of these studies, most now provided with additional notes and corrections,* in a volume dedicated entirely to this Legacy in Stone.

Haarlem, Bonn, München
1990

MACHIEL KIEL

* The opportunity has also been taken to correct, in the texts of the articles themselves, a number of misprints and minor errors. Those that remain, however unsightly, do not materially affect the sense of the passages concerned, and the reader is asked to excuse them, as also the inconsistencies in spelling and transliteration and the all too frequent lapses in the author's English.

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The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies series, have not been given a new continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion and to facilitate their use where these studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number, in the order of its appearance in this volume, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page of the article and is quoted in the Index entries.

The plates for these articles have been grouped together at the end of the volume, each plate being marked with the Roman number of the study to which it refers. Wherever possible, the illustrations have been reproduced from the original photographs. In some instances, however, when no alternative was available and the original plate was hardly legible, it has been necessary to omit the illustration concerned; in others it has been possible to substitute new photographs and to add supplementary illustrations.

I

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF SOME TURKISH MONUMENTS IN THESSALONIKI AND THEIR FOUNDERS

The first centuries of Turkish rule over Thessaloniki certainly do not belong to the best-known period of its long history.

As regards the first period, before the battle of Ankara in 1402, the opinions of the historians are very contradictory.¹ On the other hand, the date of the definite occupation does not give any trouble. After this date, 1430, the development of the city followed an entirely different course, the conditions of which had been prepared in the fifty years before it.

The intention of these pages is to give, on the basis of the activities of a number of Turkish administrators and founders and the works left by them, an enrichment of the picture of the life of that city and also to give a different explanation of some difficult problems.

After the Turkish breakthrough in Macedonia in the eighties of the 14th century, which was made possible by the vacuum of power on the Balkan peninsula, the position of Thessaloniki became untenable. The fall of the key-fortress of Serres² was followed by that of the other Macedonian cities, Edessa, Kastoria, Verria, Bitola, Strumica and others. Surrounded by Turkish territory on every side, Thessaloniki capitulated only after a long siege. In accordance with their tried-out methods,³ the Ottomans first set up a kind of provisional government in the conquered city which was a transitional form to the definite occupation.

Against this background we can explain the well-known privileges the Archbishops Isidorus and Gabriel received from the new overlord and their "generous and humane"⁴ behaviour towards the citizens of the conquered

1. See for this subject G.T. Dennis, "The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica, 1391-1394 or 1430?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964), pp. 53-61. and A. Bakalopoulos, "Zur Frage der zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken, 1391-1392", *ibidem*, 61 (1968) 285-290.

2. For the role Serres played as key to Macedonia see: G. Ostrogorsky, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs," in: *Byzantion* XXXV (1965), pp. 302-319.

3. See for this subject the illuminating study by Halil Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," in: *Studia Islamica* II (Paris 1954), pp. 103-129.

4. Apostolos Vakalopoulos, in his general but very informative *History of Thessaloniki*, (Thessaloniki, 1963), p. 64.

town. This vouches for the careful policy of the Ottomans in these districts, where their position was still very vulnerable.

It must have been in this period before 1402 that Thessaloniki ceased to be a leading centre of Byzantine architecture and painting. In spite of the vehement political storms and trials of the 14th century, the civil wars, Hesychast controversy, social tension and the Serbian invasion, the city had remained a brilliant centre of culture of which many a monument reminds us. After the Turkish occupation no orders were given to build and decorate new churches. The unemployed artists and master builders left the city and went north, to the Serbian Despotate along the Morava river where they made an important contribution to the development of the last phase of the art of painting in Serbia, the so-called school of Morava.⁵

Thanks to its firm structure, the Ottoman Empire was able to survive the terrible crisis of 1402. Sultan Murad was more inclined towards a policy of restoration of his Empire and of careful balance of power than towards one of ruthless conquest, which had cost his grandfather Bayazid I both throne and life.⁶

The conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430 formed part of the restoration of the Empire. According to the Turkish conception of justice, founded on the Hanefi School of Islamic Law, the city was their property⁷ and its transfer to Venice an unlawful act. It also needs no explanation that Murad could not tolerate a base of the strongest maritime power of that time in his flank. To take possession of Thessaloniki seemed easy, because of the strong pro-Turkish feeling of many of the city's inhabitants. Regarding the origins of these feelings we can only guess, but there are several things to indicate the direction in which we have to search. In almost all the Balkan countries there existed a pro-Turkish party⁸ which expected political stability from Turkish rule and the

5. For this see: V.J. Djurić, "Solunsko poreklo resavskog živopisa" in: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 6, (Beograd, 1960), pp. 111-126, and also V.J. Djurić, "Freske crkvice sr. Besrebnika Despota Jovana Uglješe u Vatopedu i njihov značaj za ispitivanje Solunskog porekla resavskog živopisa" in the same *Zbornik*, 7 (Beograd, 1961), pp. 125-136.

6. The French nobleman Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who stayed at the court of Murad in the year 1433 called him a peace-loving monarch, *Voyages d'Outremer*, ed. Schefer (Paris, 1892), p. 181. Also Sphranzes qualified Murad as such.

7. Halil Inalcik, "Byzantium and the Origins of the Crisis of 1444 under the Light of Turkish Sources," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, II (Beograd, 1964) 159-163.

8. This tendency was very strong in Bosnia, which had become Turkish without much resistance. The same can be said of the old Serbian capital Smederevo which surrendered voluntarily. Mahmud Pasha Angelović was Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Empire, while a t

preservation of their own position and wealth.⁹ Moreover, Venice did not keep its promises of 1423 and “behaved in a haughty and despotic manner towards the townspeople. They were, in fact, tyrannical masters.”¹⁰ Last of all, the memory of the period between 1387 and 1402, which compared with the situation under Venice was none the worse, played a role.

In spite of the expected voluntary surrender, hoped by many,¹¹ the city did offer resistance, so that a brief siege and storming of the walls became necessary before the city definitely came into Turkish hands.

March 1430 was a new beginning for Thessaloniki. Its role as second city of the Byzantine Empire and centre of Christian civilisation was over. After a difficult rebirth it was to become “a little piece of Istanbul”¹² and a focus of Turkish-Islamic culture and Jewish spiritual life. It is to the first aspect that we shall turn our attention.

The Venetians had left a decayed and half-populated city.¹³ The mass emigration from the completely isolated city was the object of constant trouble for the Republic of San Marco. Even in the year 1429 the Governor had to take action, whilst otherwise “the city should be deserted and fall into decay.”¹⁴ The number of inhabitants at the beginning of the rule of Venice over Thessaloniki has been given as 40,000, but at the end it had fallen to 7000 (by Zorzi Dolphin of Venice). Both numbers must be taken with caution, but they do at least give an idea what impression the city made on visitors of that time.

Murad's first care was to restore normal life to the city and to lay the foundations for a new period of prosperity. “Many distinguished people were set free by him and their former property given back. Then he gathered

the same time his brother Michael Angelović was Prime Minister of the Serbian Despotate and leader of the Pro-Turkish party.

9. On this subject there is a very rich literature. For example, the small but instructive study of Branislav Djurdjev, “Hrišćani Spahije u Severnoj Srbiji u 15 v.” in: *Godisnjak Istorijskog Društva IV* (Sarajevo, 1952), pp. 165-169. Long before the fall of Smederevo in 1459 there was a pronounced Pro-Turkish sentiment in Northern Serbia about which Djurdjev gives much material.

10. Vakalopoulos, *History* (see note 4) p. 65.

11. idem, p.71.

12. “Selanik has produced many a famous man and is in reality a little piece of Istanbul” Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumili und Bosna*, translated by Joseph von Hammer (Wien, 1812), in his description of Thessaloniki. The well-known historian and geographer of the 17th century points here to the half-dozen poets who were born in this city and the great historians of the Ottoman Empire such as Selaniki Mustafa who, social-vehemently moved, severely criticized the abuses of the late 16th century.

13. Konstantin Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben II*, p. 158.

14. Vakalopoulos, *History* p. 226.

the former citizens from all the points of the compass and restituted them for what they once had called their property.”¹⁵

He also settled a group of Turkish families of the nearby Yenice Vardar¹⁶ in the city, which formed the core of the Moslem element of later ages. After the well-known elegy of Anagnostes on the sacking of the city, this “chronicler of the conquest” praised with remarkable objectivity the measures taken by the Sultan to restore order and security. He mentions especially his care for the trade to which the citizens owed their living.^{16a}

The first reliable data concerning the number of the city’s inhabitants are given by the Turkish census lists. In 1478, half a century after the conquest Thessaloniki had 1119 houses¹⁷ of non-military or administrative families. Of this total number 584 were houses of Moslems who are registered as craftsmen, weavers, smiths, tanners, saddlers, tailors etc. Strangely enough, not a single Jewish family was registered. It seems that the Thessalonican Jews had all left the city in the difficult years between 1423 and 1430. If we add to this number of inhabitants the garrison and the provincial administration (the city became the capital of a Sandjak) we can safely put the number of inhabitants between the 6000 and 7000.

A note in the enormous geographical work of Mehmed ben Ömer ben Bayazid from Trebizond,¹⁸ who for several years lived and worked in Thes-

15. Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht, Die Osmanen* (Akad. Verlag Berlin, 1966), p. 226.

16. Regarding this forgotten Turkish centre in Macedonia, the writer of these pages has a special study in preparation.

16a. See Anagnostes cited by Werner, p. 225.

17. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Essais sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire Ottoman au XVe et XVIe siècles,” in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* I (Leiden, 1958), p. 36.

18. Cited by Babinger in his meritorious study: “Ein Türkischer Stiftungs-brief des Nerkis vom Jahre 1029, = 1620,” in: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* II (München, 1966), p. 49-50. Babinger was mistaken, however, in the place of birth of the informant, which was Trebizond and not Thessaloniki (see *Enzyklopaedie der Islam*, under “Türken”, Literatur, by Fuad Köprülü and especially Franz Taeschner, “Die Geographische Literatur der Osmanen,” in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift Morgenländischen Gesellsch.* II. 1921, Neue Folge.) Strangely enough, Babinger gives the right place in his *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und Ihre Werke*. Mehmed b. Ömer b. Bayazid, called Mehmed Ashik, was born in Trebizond on the Black Sea in the year 1555 as son of a professor of the well-known Hatuniye College of that city. He received an excellent education and devoted himself entirely to the study of the old literature. Still young, in 1575, he started his long journeys which, for a period of twenty-five years, were to bring him to many parts of the vast Ottoman dominions. He led a wandering life, at first seldom but later on never at home in his native Trebizond. He joined several military camp-

saloniki, also points to the scanty number of inhabitants in the first period of Turkish rule. This is in his description of the Hamza Bey Cami (see for this object further on in this article) which was built as a Mesdjid (small mosque in which no Friday sermon is given), but which later on had to be enlarged because "the city had increased considerably in wealth and prosperity."¹⁹

A powerful factor for the development of the city was the influx of large number of Jewish refugees from Spain, who settled in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512). Thessaloniki was able to receive the majority of them.

The Turkish census of the twenties of the 16th century gives a clear picture of the fast development of the town and the increase of population. In these years the city consisted of 4863 houses of civil and non-administrative families.²⁰ These were divided into three distinct groups, viz. 2645 Jewish houses, 1229 Moslem houses and 989 houses of Christian families. If we count, as is usual, 5 inhabitants per house and also some for the garrison and administration, we arrive at a number of 27,000- 30,000 inhabitants. Thessaloniki ranked among the largest cities of the Balkan peninsula in the early years of the reign of Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent, the third city after Istanbul and Adrianople. This number continued to rise to 70,000 - 80,000 inhabitants in the 17th century and, after a period of stagnation, to far over 100,000 at the beginning of our century.

Concerning the conversion of churches into mosques, there are several contradictory statements. According to Tafrafi²¹ in the 14th century there were 53 churches and 19 monasteries in the city. In the authoritative Encyclopaedia of Islam, part IV, Selanik, p. 220, J.H. Kramers states that in the beginning only the church of the Holy Virgin was transformed into a mosque.

aigns and worked in many towns as clerk to the Court of Law and also some years in the Vakıf office of Thessaloniki. He worked so often in Turkish Europe precisely because this was new land for Islam, and in the old literature hardly any reliable information was to be found about it. These were study journeys to collect the materials for his book. Later he withdrew from public life and settled in Damascus to write his great cosmography *Menāzir üil-Avālim* (The View of the World), which was started in 1596. He died also in Damascus, prematurely, in H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-1601). Mehmed Ashik's work is an enormous compendium of the whole geographic literature of the Moslim Middle Ages. Everything was checked with painstaking accuracy and completed until his time with an astonishing exactness which strongly reminds us of modern science. Unfortunately the work is by far not used in the way it should be.

19. Mehmed Ashik cit ed by Babinger in his study cited on note 18, p. 50.

20. Barkan, *Essay...* (see note 17) table no 7 on page 35.

21. O. Tafrafi, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913). p. 149f.

On the other hand, Ernst Werner asserts that Murad had transformed all the churches into mosques or for profane use with the exception of St. Demetrius.²² Franz Babinger²³ mentions that after 1430 the Christians kept only four churches, which later were also transformed into mosques, one after the other. He does not give the names of them.

Several historians think that the Turks not only took over a number of churches but also seized them for civil uses or to use the materials of them for their own constructions.²⁴ It seems nearer to the truth to say that the small Christian community maintained throughout the whole period half the former number of their houses of prayer. This included for the first 150 years also the largest churches of the city.

In the year 1572 the Archbishop of the city declared to the well-known German clergyman Stefan Gerlach that the Christian community had 20 churches and monasteries in which Holy Mass was celebrated daily and 10 others which were used for special services only. Evliya Çelebi mentions about 1660 likewise 30 churches, as does the Russian pilgrim Barski more than half a century after him.^{24a} Tafrali mentions 13 churches on the site of older ones²⁵ and 21 more or less preserved old ones.

It is certain that Murad turned the church of St. Paraskevi into a mosque immediately after the conquest. Besides the fact that this church is very suitable for holding Islamic prayer, the name Holy Friday, to which it was consecrated, must also have played a role in this choice. The Turkish name Eski Cuma (Djouma) - Old Friday, points to the same direction. The name was interpreted as a sign that the church was destined to become a mosque.²⁶

Of the other big churches, St. Demetrius, St. George (Rotonda) and St. Sophia, it is known that they remained in the hands of the Christians long after the conquest. It is also certain that the churches of St. Katharina, St. Panteleimon, the monastery of Vlatadon and that of Nicolaos Orfanos and the

22. Werner, *Die Geburt...* (see note 15) p. 226.

23. Babinger, *Aufsätze* II (see note 18) p. 50 note 1.

24. *Enzyklopaedie der Islam*, Selanik, p. 220 and Vokalopoulos, *History* p.76, in which he mentions the churches which remained in Christian hands.

24a. Translation of the chapter dealing with Thessaloniki in: *Balkan Studies* II (Thessaloniki, 1961), pp. 293-298.

25. A. Orlandos, "L'Architecture religieuse en Grèce pendant la domination turque," in: *Le Cinq-centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople*, (Athens, 1953), Fascicule hors le serie of: *L'Hellénisme contemporain*, gives the names of several three-aisled basilicas built in Turkish times, St. Athanasius, Panagouda, Panaghia Dexia and others (p. 186).

26. See about this phenomenon in detail F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929).

chapel of the Sotir remained a long time or even entirely in the hands of the Christians. That is twice as much as the number given above (for the dates of the transformation of the different churches see further in this article).

Not only the installation of the first Moslem house of prayer, but also the great hot bath on the square in the middle of the modern city, reminds us of Sultan Murad II. It is a Çifte Hamam or double bath with separate sections for men and women. It is the greatest and most monumental example of a Turkish bath in present-day Greece. The bath, which still operates, preserves up to the present its beautifully carved Arabic inscription that mentions the name of its royal founder and the date of its construction.²⁷ In transcription and translation it reads as follows (Pl. II):²⁸

1. Buniya wa-‘umira hādhā ‘l-binā ‘l-mubāarak li-rasm imām al-muslimīn sultān al-guzāt wa-‘l-mudjāhidin sultān Murād khān bn sultān
2. Mehmed bn Bāyezīd khān khallada ‘Llāh mulkahu wa-abbada dawlatahu fi zamānihi wa-‘ahdihi bi-amrihi, al-nāfidh, al-maymun, anfadhahu ‘Llāh ilā yawmi yub‘athn.^{28a}
3. wa tamma fi ‘l-shahr al-mubāarak Djumādā ‘l-Ulā min sana thamān wa-arba‘īn wa-thamāni-mi’a hidjriya nabawiya hilāliya.

(1. This blessed building was built on order of the Leader of the Moslems, the Sultan of the warriors of Islam, Sultan Murad, son of Sultan

2. Mehmed, son of Bayezid—may God continue his rule to the end of his period, the one who is helped and favoured by God, may God accompany him on the Day of Resurrection—

3. and finished in the blessed month Djumada I of the eight-hundred-forty-eight lunar year since the Hidjra of the Prophet.)

[That is 15 September of the year 1444.]

Another name that is inseparably connected with the first years of Turkish rule is that of Sungur Çauş Bey, the first Turkish governor of the city. This Çauş Bey was an important army commander in the time of Murad II whose name is connected with several other places on the Balkan peninsula.

27. J.H. Kramers writes wrongly 1439 (*Enzykl. Islam* - Selanik - p. 220).

28. This and the other translations of inscriptions I obtained through the kind help of Dr. F. Th. Dijkema of Leiden for which I sincerely thank him. The photographs were taken by the author in the summer of 1969.

28a. “ila yawmi yub‘athun” is an expression which is used several times in the Koran.

The oldest written note about him is on a long Arabic inscription on the main tower of the former Yedi Kule citadel. It dates from Hidjra 834=a.d. 1430 and mentions the repair of the city walls, which took place under his leadership.²⁹ His name is also mentioned in connection with the Çauş Manastir, the Vlatadon Monastery which obtained a special privileged statute in a way which is not fully explained, as far as I know, and regarding which several legends are in circulation.³⁰ As to the career and work of this first Turkish commander of the city, little is known. After Murad's expedition to Albania Çauş Bey must have settled in Monastir (Bitola) in North Macedonia. In H. 838 (A.D. 1433 - 1434) he built there a great mosque which existed into our times. It was an interesting example of early Ottoman architecture on the Balkans, a square room surmounted by a low dome on a round tambour. The outer gallery rested on four heavy piers, also a characteristic of the oldest phase of this art.³¹ Unfortunately it was demolished in 1956³² without reason or, as it was stated, for reason of better town planning. Further foundations of Çauş Bey in Monastir were a Medresse (college) and a Zaviye or Derwish convent. Both buildings disappeared long ago. The preserved Vakıfnâme (foundations charter) dating from April 1435, the oldest preserved document in the Arabic language in Yugoslavia,³³ tells us that he also founded a Mesdjid in Vidin, Danubian Bulgaria, which also disappeared long ago.³⁴ Besides the inscription in Thessaloniki the only object of Çauş Bey's foundations now preserved is the great domed mosque in Adrianople. The inscription above the gate was published by Gökbilgin.³⁵ It gives the date of the construction and name of the founder, H. 847 (A.D. 1443) nearly ten years after his foundations in Mon-

29. Tafrafi (see note 21) gives an approximate translation of this inscription. Because of the fact that the citadel at present serves as a prison and is therefore difficult to approach, no photographs of it could be made.

30. Franz Babinger published in *Oriens* III 2 (Leiden, 1950) a facsimile of a document in favour of the Vlatadon Monastery from the year 1446 (Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath* pp. 229-265).

31. The Eski Cami of Adrianople has likewise round tambours.

32. For a description of this mosque, with pictures, ground-plan and section see: Kroum Tomovski, *Camija vo Bitola, Godišen Zbornik na Tehničkiot Fakultetot Universitet Skopje*, No 1957-1958, pp. 29-30.

33. This document was published and translated into Serbian, by Dr. Hasan Kalesi, "Najstarija Vakufname u Jugoslaviji," in: *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju* etc. X-XI, (Sarajevo, 1960-1961), pp. 55-73.

34. Personal observation after repeated visits. Vidin has nothing Turkish older than the 18th century.

35. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Şehrin Kurucuları," in: *Edirne 600. Fethi Yilönümü Armagan Kitabı* (Ankara T.T.K., 1965), p. 175.

astir. "Çauş Bey Mahalle" is the name which is still used for the quarter of the town in which the mosque lies. It is situated outside the old fortress quadrangle of Adrianople, on the north side of the latter.

Another subject that until now had not had the attention it deserves is the two great mosques which the Turks built in Thessaloniki^{36a} and which are among the largest and most original examples of Turkish architecture in S.E. Europe. We mean that of Hamza Bey from 1468 and that of Grand Vezir Inegöllü Ishak Pasha from 1485.

The Hamza Bey Camii on the main street of the city, opposite the building of the Dimarchia, is the largest mosque on Greek soil (Pl. I). Except for a few remarks of Tafrali³⁷ and Babinger,³⁸ this important building has remained unstudied. The only man who wrote anything about its architecture in Turkish, was Semavi Eyice.^{38a}

Together with the great court, the mosque covers an area of 30 by 40 m. The centre of the building is a large square room of 14 by 14 m. surmounted by a dome. This was the original prayer hall. The further development of the building became clear after Babinger had published a fragment of a foundation charter on this mosque and some other materials.³⁹ Together with the two preserved inscriptions^{39a} and an investigation of the building itself, we are now able to reconstruct the history of this important work of Islamic architecture in Greece.^{39b}

It was founded in the year of the Hidjra 872 (2.8. 1467-21.7. 1468) by Hafsa, the daughter of Hamza Bey. This man must have been Şarabdar Hamza Bey who, under Murad II, was military commander and became in 1460, in

36. For the upkeep of his foundations Çauş Bey destined the revenue of the village Popolzen near Lerin (Florina), the yearly rent of a caravanseray, 25 shops, two estates, 7 water-mills and a vineyard near Bitola. For the mosque in Adrianople 11 shops and 17 rooms in that city and for Vidin 20 shops and one watermill. In a list from the year 1481 the yearly revenue of the entire foundation was 10,360 silver pieces (akçe) which was divided over the three places, 3000 akçe for Adrianople, 1000 for Vidin and the remaining for the head foundation in Bitola. (See further Kalesi's study cited in note 33).

36a. J.H. Kramers in *E.I. Selanik*, p. 221 stated that the Turks never built any great mosque in Thessaloniki.

37. See note 21.

38. See the study of Babinger mentioned in note 18 where for the first time important material about this mosque is brought together.

38a. "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI, 1954.

39. See note 18, Nerkisi.

39a. About these inscriptions no older literature could be found.

39b. This research was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Scientific Research, Z.W.O. The Hague.

the reign of Mehmed Fatih, Beylerbey of Anatolia Sivas-Tokat region. He had his feudal goods in the surroundings of Uzun Köprü in present-day Turkish Thrace and is known for the derwish convent, Zaviye,⁴⁰ he had built in the quarter of Kıyık in Adrianople.⁴¹

The mosque of Hafsa Khanım in Thessaloniki is a large low block of 14,10 by 14,10 m. surmounted by a dome on an octagonal tambour (Pl. III). At an unknown date, probably in the second half of the 16th century, when the city had witnessed a considerable increase in population, it had been enlarged and made a Cami. This enlargement was made before the year 1592, the time that Mehmed b. Ömer wrote, and was carried out in a manner not found anywhere else in the vast dominions of Turkish architecture. The old portico of Hafsa Khanım was demolished and the prayer hall was surrounded on two sides with lateral buildings of rectangular shape. Each part was covered with four narrow cross-vaults of the type common in Ottoman art. In front of the thus widened mosque a spacious open courtyard was built of a highly irregular shape, which rested on 18 marble columns (Pl. IV). The brick cross-vaults rest on pointed arches of remarkably weak form. Here and there use has been made of capitals which are clearly Byzantine in origin. Tafrali thought that they came from the old church of the Virgin which once stood near the church of St. Menas.⁴³ It was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hamza Bey Mosque and it is not impossible.

As early as Mehmed b. Ömer's time, the mosque was no longer called Hafsa bint i Hamza Bey Camii but, as is natural, Hamza Bey Camii.⁴⁴ Between the years 1592 and 1620 this enlarged mosque was destroyed by fire or earthquake and was in such a bad state that a thorough repair became necessary. Relating to this is a design for a new Vakıfnâme for the mosque, of the year 1620, that Babinger published in transcription and German translation.⁴⁵

40. Gökbilgin, p. 172 in his study mentioned on note 35. The historian Abdurrahman Hibri Efendi from Adrianople (buried in Serres behind the castle) mentions that this Zaviye became a centre of the Halveti derwish order, who came over to Europe under Bayazid.

41. A Hamza Bey built a large size mesdjid in Bursa which was later on transformed into a mosque. Several daughters of his are buried in the nearby turbe. This Hamza Bey was an important army commander under Murad II and Mehmed II and might be the same man as Şarabdar Hamza.

42. It may be doubted whether Mehmed Ashık's supposition is right, that the mosque had been a mesdjid before. A mesdjid with a dome of 14 m. is much too big to serve such a humble purpose.

43. See Tafrali, *Topographie*, p. 191.

44. See the study mentioned on note 18.

45. *op. cit.*

The original is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin and it is the work of one of the most refined stylists of Ottoman literature, Mehmed Nerkisi Efendi of Sarajevo, the son of Kadi (Judge) Nerkes Ahmad Efendi. After his studies in the Ottoman capital this man performed several functions as teacher and later also as Kadi.⁴⁶ He worked in the cities of his native land Bosnia, in Gabela, Banja Luka, Mostar and Novi Pazar. Later on he also worked in Macedonia and, as we have seen, in Thessaloniki. He accompanied Sultan Murad IV in 1634 as Imperial Chronicler on his campaign against Erivan and the Persians but died, still young, after an unlucky fall from his horse near Gebze on the Gulf of Izmit, a day's journey from the capital. From Nerkisi's unfinished design of the new Vakıfnâme we do know that the man who rebuilt the badly damaged mosque in Thessaloniki was Kapuçı Mehmed Bey, the son of Seyid Ghazi. It was not possible for me to find anything concerning this person. This Gatekeeper Mehmed Bey did not rebuild the mosque from its foundations as the preserved inscription may suggest. On the mihrab wall there remains a seam to be seen on both sides between the original work of Hafsa Khanım and the later work. These parts have no structural connection with each other. The work of 1620 must have been responsible for the general reconstruction of the upper parts of the building and especially for the weak and flabby forms in which it was carried out and which is in such a strong contrast to the bold lines of classical Ottoman architecture of the 16th century. We thus see three phases in the building, of which that of Kapuçı Mehmed Bey is the last and it is restricted only to the rebuilding of the arches of the gallery, some parts of the walls and the roofing. During this repair the old inscription was replaced in a corner of the gallery, high above ground level and a new one was placed above the entrance. The original 15th century inscription reads as follows (Pl. V, 1-2):

Wa-'inna 'l-masâdjid li-'Llâh fa-lâ tad'û ma'a 'Llâh aḥadan^{46a}
 Binâ' hâdhihi 'l-masdjid al-mubâarak Ḥafsa bint Ḥamza Beg ta-r-a-
 ha-b
 Raḥima 'Llâh li-man naẓara fihi wa-da'â li-şâḥibibâ. Ta'rikh sana
 ithnâ wa-sab'în wa-thamani-mi'a.

(Mosques belong to God. Therefore call nobody beside God.

This blessed mosque was built by Hafsa, the daughter of Hamza Beg;
 May God have mercy with his servants and bless the foundress. Date:
 the year eight-hundred-seventy-two [1467-1468])

46. More about Nerkisi by Dr. Safvet-Bey "Bašagić, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj Književnosti," in *Glasnik Žemalskog Muzeja XXIV* (1912) pp. 59-72.

46a. The first line of this inscription is a Koran quotation, Sura 72-18.

The main inscription is charmingly distributed over the four fields of the marble slab and gives the date of (re)construction and the names of the builder as well as of the poet who composed the inscription (Pl. V, 3):

Qad bana 'l-bawwab hadha 'l-djami
 Khalisan li-'Llah dhi '-fadl li-wadud
 Qala ta'rikhan lahu Abd al-Hamid
 Udkhulu bi-'l-birr ya ahl as-sudjud
 sana 1028.

(This Djami was built by the Gatekeeper,
 as a gift to God who benefits those who love Him,
 Abd al-Hamid made this chronogram:
 'enter in piety, ye people of prayer'
 year 1028 [A.D. 1619])

(Bewwab is the Turkish version of the Arabic Bawāb and is synonymous with Qapudji (Kapici). The letters of the chronogram together give the year 1028.)

The highly irregular form of the courtyard of the mosque must have been due to the presence of an important building in the north-west corner of the mosque at the time it was built and which could not be demolished. This place had always been the very centre of the city where building ground was most expensive. This is still the case in our own times. That is the reason why the axis of the courtyard has been shifted so much from the middle. Thus the dome over the main entrance of the yard has been placed nearly outside the flight of the walls of the old building, whereas it should have been directly opposite the latter. However strange the columned courtyard of the Hamza Bey Mosque may be, it is the only known example of such an element outside the old Ottoman capitals Istanbul and Adrianople and the only one not built by a Sultan.⁴⁷

The building certainly deserves closer examination, which is only possible during a general de-plastering and restoration. Owing to its present situation

47. It was an unwritten privilege of the Ottoman Sultans to have domed courtyards in front of their mosques. The first example of a Turkish mosque with a large peristyle is that of Isa Bey Aydınoğlu in Ephesus from the year 1375, which was built on inspiration of the great Ommayad Mosque of Damascus. The first Ottoman mosque with a spacious domed courtyard is the Üç Şerefeli Cami, built between 1435-1445 by Sultan Murad II in his residence Adrianople. The large Vezir's mosques of Istanbul, as those of Kara Ahmad Pasha near Top Kapu or of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, or that of princess Mihrimah, all from the 16th century, have a kind of yard, but this has the purpose of portico of the adjoining medresse, built in front of them. In this manner a kind of peristyle was created without impairing the Imperial privilege.

and the extensive use made of it,⁴⁸ this work will not be easy.

Entirely different in scope, form and history is the other great mosque of Thessaloniki, the Alaca Imaret or Ishak Pasha Mosque (Pl. VI, VII). This building is situated a few hundred metres above the church of St. Demetrius, between the Sophocles and St. Nicolaos Street and belongs to the characteristic group of Early Ottoman T-plan mosques, or rather Zaviye-mosques. We can divide the building into several components. First we have a large, rectangular prayer-hall, surmounted by two domes with a span of 11 m. This is the most important part of the building, which is clearly distinguished from the other parts by its greater height. On both sides of this hall there are several smaller rooms, also domed. These must have been the service-rooms for the Imaret. The front of the building is a mighty open portico with five domes, supported by six slender marble columns. This type of mosque has a multitude of variations and is the product of an interesting evolution within Turkish architecture and one of its most original creations.

The roots go back to the architecture of the art-loving Sultanate of the Selçuks of Konya. There, in the 13th century, was the old Arab type of Medrese with the open courtyard transformed into a type better suited to the harsh climate of the Anatolian Highlands. The Arabic-Persian type consisted of separate cells for students and teachers grouped around a open yard with a fountain in the middle. Opposite the entrance was a large hall covered by a dome or barrel vault which served as mosque proper or as a room in which lessons were given. We find here several functions united in one building, that of religious service being only one of them. The Anatolian architects of the 13th century made this type more compact; they made the courtyard smaller and covered it with a big dome. In the centre of this dome they provided, by means of an oculus, for contact with the open air. They paved the floor with marble and placed a water basin, with a fountain in the middle, underneath the oculus. This type of domed Medrese was adopted by the Early Ottoman architects of Bursa and Adrianople and its forms were further elaborated to the well known Zaviye Mosque with the T-plan: a multi-function building, with the place reserved for religious services in a rather small room placed in the back of the building and separated from the rest by a considerable heightening of the floor. The other rooms are reserved for meetings, residence and retirement of the members of the religious brotherhoods⁴⁹ or for giving lessons.

48. The building is used, inter alia as cinema, gambling-den, boot-shop and store-room.

49. See about this subject the fundamental study of Semivi Eyice, "Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 21, (Istanbul, 1961) pp. 1-79.

In the first phase, only the former courtyard has been covered by a dome; later on, about 1400, also the small rooms in some Sultan's buildings⁵⁰ were domed, but in the smaller mosques the barrel vault remained for some decades in use.⁵¹ After the middle of the 15th century the function of Zaviye decayed more and more and that of mosque gained the ascendancy. In that time the marble floor was covered with carpets and the inner fountain was removed to obtain more room for the prayers. For this purpose the floors were made on one level and the unity of the building was further enhanced by giving new-built mosques domes of the same size.

We see this clearly in the mosque founded by the Governor Isa Bey⁵² in Skopje from the year 1471 and by those of Hass Murad Pasha, an offshoot of the Palaeologian family,⁵³ in Aksaray-Istanbul from 1465. Closely connected with this variant⁵⁴ of the T-plan is the Alaca Cami of the ex-Grand Vezir Inegöllü Ishak Pasha, who was pensioned with the calm position of Governor of Thessaloniki. He had this mosque built between 1486 and 1487. It is the second great foundation of this old statesman.

Ten years earlier, in H. 881 (A.D. 1476) he had founded in his native city Inegöl in Asia Minor, near Bursa, a great mosque with an Imaret (an institution in which the poor could eat free of charge), a large Medresse or college and a mausoleum (Turbe) for himself.

It would seem likely that the two foundations of the Vezir, built shortly

50. The Yıldırım Bayazid Camii and the magnificent Yesil Cami in Bursa.

51. The Ghazi Mihal Cami in Adrianople from 1422 and the Alaca Cami in Skopje from 1438.

52. Isa Bey, the son of Ishak Pasha, was one of the most important persons of the 15th century. He was a descendant of an old Turkish family that had settled in Skopje in 1392. Isa Bey founded the cities of Novi Pazar and Sarajevo, where several buildings still remind us of him. His mosque in Skopje and that one of his father Ishak in the same town rank among the most important and largest Islamic monuments of Jugoslavia, and were finely restored after the damage they sustained during the recent earthquake. The mosque and turbe of the ancestor of the family, Pasha Yiğit Bey, was destroyed during the Second World War. His tomb still exists, but was in 1969 in a terrible state of decay.

53. Concerning him see Franz Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* I (München, 1962), p. 348.

54. This type was one of the most fertile of Ottoman architecture. In the eighties of the 15th century a special variant of it was developed in which one enormous domed room was flanked by very small side rooms and the mihrab was placed in a sort of triangular apse. At the same time emerged in the capital a type in which the second dome was replaced by a half-dome, from which it is only a short distance to the classical mosque of the 16th century. In this development the vaulting system of the thousand years older Hagia Sophia must have played a rôle.

after each other and of the same size, would also be of the same architectural concept. Nothing of this is true, however. In comparing the two *Vezir's* mosques we see reflected two marked trends in Early Ottoman Architecture.

Inegöl lies in the old centre of the Ottoman Empire, soaked in the traditions of Selçuk art and those of the first rulers of the house of Osman. In Ishak Pasha's great mosque there is a sturdy creation of the richly ornamented but conservative school of Bursa. The portico in front of the mosque has five domes supported by six heavy, square pillars, whilst the walls are abundantly decorated with zig-zag bands and hexagonal tiles. The Medresse has on the court side the same but slightly simpler ornamentation. The body of the mosque gives a low, massive and closed impression, whilst the domes rest on very high tambours, all being characteristic of early Ottoman architecture. There is a striking difference in the treatment of the domes that cover the main body. The one over the room containing the mihrab-niche is lower and has a different transition between the dome and the square room. Furthermore, this transition, a band of Turkish triangles⁵⁵ or folds, is richer and of a different form than that on the other dome. The first dome, over the central section of the mosque, is higher and still has the oculus and the lantern above it which reminds us of its ancient function as court. The type would suggest the former presence of a water basin and fountain, but without a thorough examination, which is possible only in case of restoration, this cannot be proved.

Judging by the characteristics given here, the building could easily date 30 or 40 years before it was actually built.⁵⁶

In striking contrast with this is our mosque in Thessaloniki. In the European half of the Empire the strength of the old traditions was not felt so much and the development of architecture went on in a faster way. The mosque in Thessaloniki follows the conception that had first been expressed on the mosque of Hass Murad Pasha from 1465 and that of Isa Bey of 1471. That is: a high rectangular prayerhall surmounted by two domes of equal size and shape, additional rooms that played a very subordinate role, a high and light gallery with five domes which are all visible and not hidden under a long roof, and supported not by heavy piers but by slender marble columns. Last of all there is a marked difference in the workmanship of the walls; they are no longer

55. This manner of solving the problem of transition between square and circle can only be found in Turkish architecture and is thought to originate in the wood architecture of the earliest phase in the ancestral Turkestan.

56. Since the *Imaret Cami* of Plovdiv, from 1444, or the *Turbe* of Mahmud Pasha in Istanbul, from 1463, this kind of adornment was not longer used in European Turkey, whereas it was still used in 1500 in Bursa (on the great *Koca Han* on the old Market street).

covered with a rich ornamentation, but are made of correct cloisonnée work.⁵⁷

The mosque of Ishak Pasha in Thessaloniki is the only example of this type that has remained preserved in Greece. The monumental Mehmed Bey Mosque of Serres⁵⁸ from 1491 shows some resemblance but belongs to a group that has developed in a different way. Of the huge mosque of Evrenosoğlu Ahmad Pasha in Yiannitsa (the old Yenice Vardar), only a badly mutilated carcass remains. In its initial form it was a highly original offshoot of the T-plan and shows a certain resemblance to some of the mosques built in Istanbul around the year 1500. Except in the former capital cities of Istanbul and Adrianople, mosques of the T-plan are only found in some Balkan towns, in Skopje and in the Bulgarian Plovdiv and Ihtiman. It is praiseworthy that the Greek Service for the Protection of Ancient Monuments undertook important works of consolidation and repair on the Thessalonican mosque, especially on the front gallery.

Regarding the life and activities for the promotion of Islamic culture of the founder of the mosque, interesting data have been preserved. Ishak Pasha, the son of Ibrahim Aga, had a moving career in active service of the state behind him when, in Thessaloniki, he ended his days as a pensioned statesman. He had served under three Sultans and had attained the highest functions of the Empire. Under Murad II (1420-1451) he had been army commander, Mehmed Fatih (1451-1481) made him Grand Vezir and also Bayazid II (1481-1512) retained him in one of the most important functions of the Empire. He was married to the Turkish princess Tadjun-Nisa, the daughter of the lord of the Isfediya principality of Kastamonu, and had several sons by her. After Ishak had died his body was brought from Thessaloniki to the place of his birth Inegöl and buried in the mausoleum behind his mosque there, beside his wife.⁶⁰

Ishak Pasha had spent a considerable part of his fortune on the erection of buildings for public benefit. In Istanbul he had built two small mosques and a hot bath (hamam), in Adrianople a fountain for drinking water (çeşme)

57. Concerning this building, see the richly illustrated study of Ali Saim Ülgen, "Inegöl'de Ishak Paşa Mimari Manzumesi," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (Ankara, 1958), p. 192 v.v. with 17 views, section and ground-plans.

58. About the three great mosques of Serres from the 15th and 16th centuries the writer of these pages has a separate study in preparation.

59. Whether further restorations are planned, is not known.

60. See the study mentioned on note 62 where Vehbi Tamer, on pp. 107-109, has brought together some data on Ishak's life.

in Kütahia (Asia Minor) a derwish zaviye, in Inegöl the already mentioned mosque, imaret, turbe and medresse and lastly, his foundations in Thessaloniki. The famous Kadin Most over the Struma in Bulgaria is a work of his. According to the preserved inscription on the bridge it was built in 1471 by the Grand Vezir Ishak.⁶¹ That was the year of his Grand Vezirate under Mehmed Fatih. In the second half of that year he was deposed.

His foundation in Thessaloniki was mosque and imaret together. For the payment of the staff and to cover the expenditure of food for the poor, he donated the yearly rent and taxes of a large landed estate for "eternity" to it. This property was situated east of the city, near Kalamaria, with the village of Galatista in it. He also donated to it the yearly rent of a hamam and a caravan seray in the silver-mine town of Sidero Kapsa on the Chalkidiki peninsula. According to the regulations of the Vakıfnâme, which has been published⁶² in facsimile and modern Turkish translation, 23 men were appointed to the whole foundation. The amount of the salaries and the sum of money which could be spent on food has been written down in detail. Besides a preacher for the Friday sermon and a leader of the prayers (imam) and müezzin, there was a secretary, 2 cooks, 2 bakers, a caretaker and 2 carpenter-masons to keep the buildings of the foundation in Thessaloniki and Sidero Kapsa in good condition. Besides this there was a porter, a cleaner and a dish washer.⁶³

To give an idea what was done to feed the poor in the old Ottoman Empire and what was spent yearly on food in an imaret of middle-size, it should be interesting to give some more details:⁶⁴

For meat 20 silver pieces a day, for bread 100 kg of wheat a day, for boiled food (mostly soup) 37.5 kg of wheat and 37.5 kg of rice. For firewood

61. Ishak was Grand Vezir between 1468 and 1471, this according to a statement of Halil Inalcik in *Speculum* 35, (1960), p.415, which is more reliable than Babinger's older in: *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (München, 1953). Peter Mijatev published the inscription of the bridge, "Les Monuments Osmanlis en Bulgarie," in: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXIII (Warszawa, 1959), pp. 8-56. The bridge was completed in the month Rebi ul Evvel of the year 876. That was between 18th August and 16th September 1471, the last month of Ishak's Grand Vezirate. After his failure against the Karamanoğlu Kasim Bey in the autumn of that year he was deposed.

62. Vehbi Tamer, "Fatih Devri Ricalinden Ishak Paşanın Vakfiyeleri ve Vakıfları," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (Ankara, 1958), pp. 107-124.

63. This document was used thanks to the kind help of Mr. A. Wijnbergen of the Leyden University.

64. A good survey of the Imaret system was given by Omer Lütfi Barkan in his extensive study, "Imaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyişi," in: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 21 (Istanbul, 1961).

5 silver pieces could be spent and for salt 1. To replace broken dishes and other articles 2 silver pieces a day. Beside this, banquets were to be held on the religious holidays (the nights of Ramadan and the two Bayrams as well as the celebrations of the Imperial Court) for which extra rice and oil and honey had to be given, for which 10 silver pieces (akçe) could be spent. The money that was necessary for such items as vegetables and ingredients for Zerde pilav or Saffron rice or white rice for the meals on holidays was given at the discretion of the Imaret-supervisor.

The name of Alaca Imaret, or Coloured Imaret, found its origin in the multicoloured minaret which once stood beside it.^{64a} It was richly ornamented with stones of different colour set in diamond-shaped figures. Minarets which were adorned according to this system are rarely found in Ottoman architecture. We know only one more example in Greece, that of the mosque of Çelebi Sinan Bey in Verria from H. 896 (A.D. 1490).⁶⁵ In Istanbul the mosque of the well known Kadi-Asker (Army Judge) and protector of literature Hadji Hasanzade has a minaret of the same type. With these decorative forms ended the great tradition of the sumptuous, coloured tiles-adorned art of minaret building, which since the 10th century had spread from Turkestan and North Persia to all directions.⁶⁶

Another mosque, which has often been confused with that of Ishak Pasha and regarding whose founder nothing was known exactly, is the Ishakiye Cami, the old church of St. Panteleimon, in the eastern part of the town near the Arch of Galerius. It is also the work of an Ishak but not of Ishak Pasha. His name is clearly written in the great inscription above the entrance of his Alaca Imaret: "Ishak ben Ibrahim."⁶⁷

64a. A photograph on which this minaret is to be seen was published by G. Sotiriou in his study about the church of St. Demetrius, in: *Archaiologikon Deltion*, IV (1918), photo 6.

65. A short description of the Turkish monuments of Verria was given by Semavi Eyice, "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri II," in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XII (Istanbul, 1955).

66. This was used very often in Selçuk architecture of the 13th century. Splendid examples of it are the minaret of Ince Minare of Konya or the minaret of the Yakutiye Medresse of Erzerum. The most characteristic example by the Ottomans is the Yeşil Cami of Iznik-Nicaea from 1378. Inspired by this, but much simpler are the minarets of the Fatih Camii of Kustendil from 1420-1430 or the Djoumaya Cami of Plovdiv, built by Murad II (1421-1451), both in Bulgaria. The examples of Thessaloniki, Verria and Istanbul are a last weak echo of this rich type of the 13th century.

67. Babinger thought that the Ishakiye was the same as that of Ishak Pasha: "Eiņ Freibrief Mehmed II des Eroberers für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki," in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951), p.11, note 3.

67. As no good photographs of this inscription could be taken, a complete translation

The founder of the Ishakiye Cami, or rather, the man who transformed the old church of St. Panteleimon into a mosque, was Kadi Ishak Çelebi ibn Hasan, Judge of Thessaloniki about the year 1500. After his term of office there he was appointed to the Chair of Monastir (Bitola), and it was there that he built the great mosque of that city which still bears his name. That was in the Year of the Hidjra 914 (A.D. 1508-1509). His mosque is also called Ishakiye or Ishak Cami. Ishak Çelebi was a very rich man and his mosque in Monastir gives a clear picture of this. It was to remain permanently the head mosque of Monastir and still dominates the centre of this city. It stands on the north bank of the Dragor brook in a small park, its square prayer-hall being surmounted by a dome 26m. high. In front of it is a closed double gallery, covered with six domes, a feature rarely to be found. The minaret with its 45 m. is one of the highest in Yugoslavia.⁶⁹ Of Ishak's term in Thessaloniki nothing could be found beyond the fact that he has been Kadi there. The mosque of Ishakiye was restored to its original purpose as church many years ago.

The transformation of churches took place only in cities which had been taken from the Christians after a siege. They were regarded as part of the lawful booty and possession of the Moslem conquerors. In cities that had surrendered by treaty or that had capitulated voluntarily, they remained in Christian hands as is shown by many examples in Mistra, Athens or Janina, or Berat in Albania and Prilep in Yugoslav Macedonia. Sometimes, in conquered cities, the churches were left to the Christians but could be taken at any time. In Thessaloniki and also in Istanbul this took place in several phases, one at the end of the 15th century and one at the end of the 16th century. Besides a manifest need for more houses of prayer for the rapidly growing Moslem element, which, as we have seen, begun in the last part of the 15th century, there were also reasons of diverse nature which accelerated this transformation.

is not possible. In the second half of the first line the name of the builder, Ishak bn Ibrahim, is given. The second half of the fourth and last line forms the chronogram:

Acmalu bi- lzuhd fi-ha, ni'ma adjr al-'amilin.

"Work with self-denying in this (building), how excellent is the reward for those who perform good works." This gives the date 889. The second half of the chronogram, after the comma, is a passage used several times in the Koran.

68. Mehmed Tewfik, *Short History of the Vilayet Monastir* (Monastir, 1912), (in Turkish). The writer is the well-known literary man of the beginning of this century who was a Major in the Turkish army and Director of the Military Gymnasium of Monastir. Cited by Tomovski in his study mentioned in note 32.

69. Ground-plan, section and several photographs by Tomovski (see note 32, on pp. 48 - 49).

In his magnificent work "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans", Hasluck went deeply into this and other phenomena and tried to find their background. The first wave must have been the result of the conquest of Granada in 1492 by the Spaniards and the destruction of the last Islamic Kingdom on Spanish soil. A wave of Arab refugees overran the Moslem world after that date and with them emigrated tens of thousands of Jews before the aggressive Spanish Catholicism. Everywhere in the Turkish Empire these refugees found a new home, but at the same time transferred some of their deep-rooted hatred against everything Christian to their fellow Moslems. In the ten or twelve years that followed the fall of Granada at least three big churches were taken from the Christians of Thessaloniki, the St. Demetrius, the greatest in the town, and these of St. Panteleimon and St. Katharina. The persons who took care of these confiscated buildings and provided them with goods for their maintenance will be discussed further on. The next phase of transformation occurred at the end of the 16th century and it is connected with the general fear for the end of the world in the Moslem year 1000 (A.D. 1592).⁷⁰ In my opinion this should be the period in which the church of St. Sophia was taken over, and not in the twenties of the same century as Babinger suggested.⁷¹ Not for nothing the St. George Rotonda was transformed into a mosque precisely in the year 999 of the Hidjra.

The famous church of St. Demetrius must have been the first victim of the reaction to world events. The Arabic inscription on a slab of marble that until the conflagration of 1917 remained in situ above the entrance of the church,⁷² gives us the date of this happening, viz. H. 898 (A.D. 1492-'93) and mentions the name of the then reigning Sultan Bayazid II:

1. Dār ahyaytu, Khayr li-'Llāh Rabb al-'Alamīn,
Khān sultān Bayezīd, ihyā li-adjl al-muslimīn.
2. Unzurū yā ma shar al-ubbād ilā ta'rikhihā
U budū bi-l-ilm haqqan ni ma adjr al-abidin.

(1. A dwelling I have put back in service, a good work for God, the Lord of the Worlds, Sultan Bayazid Khan, a creation for the benefit of the Moslems.

70. The same fear for the nearing end of the world in the Christian year 1000 was known in Western Europe.

71. Babinger in the study mentioned on note 66a, pp. 18-19.

72. G. Sotiriou (see note 64a) photo 3.

2. See ye host of servants (of the Lord) to this chronogram:
 Serve [God] with knowledge. Truly, how beautiful is the reward for
 those who serve [(the Lord). 898].)

Attention has been drawn to the presence of the funeral monument of Lukas Spantunis, from the year 1481, by many others. This monument shows that the church was in the hands of the Christians at that time.

According to popular Islamic beliefs, Demetrius and Kasım are identical as are other great saints of the two religions, Georgius and Hıdır İlias, the popular moslem saint. It was on this account that the church of St. Demetrius was renamed Kasimiye to which the first line of the inscription also alludes. From this we also see that the transformation of a church into a mosque was regarded as a lawful act without the slightest trace of injustice. That the Christians felt this otherwise is only natural. There is yet another reason which might have influenced the choice of the name. It is because of the name of the man who adapted the ex-church into a mosque.

This man must have been Ceseri Kasım Pasha.^{72a} The other important Kasım Pasha was the Grand Vezir of Sultan Bayazid, Evliya Kasım Pasha, known for his beautiful mosque on the banks of the river Tundja in Adrianople and his schools in Tirnovo, Bulgaria. He died in 1485 and cannot be our man.⁷³ Ceseri Kasım Pasha is mentioned as Governor of Thessaloniki in the year 894 in a document on the repair of the mosque of Eski Cuma of Murad II, the old church of Acheiropoietos on which repairs were carried out for the sum of 30,000 silver pieces.⁷⁴

This Kasım Pasha was one of the most remarkable figures of the old Ottoman Empire. He had started his career as slave of the Egyptian scholar Mevlana Djeseri (Ceseri), who later came into Ottoman service. Djeseri's son Mehmed Çelebi who worked as secretary in a government office directed the attention of Sultan Mehmed Fatih towards the promising slave of his father. The Sultan had him set free from his old master who had given his slave an excellent education. He was made Defterdar (book-keeper) in the central Government. Under later Sultans, Bayazid II and Selim, he became Sandjak Bey (inter alia, of Silistra in Northern Bulgaria) and finally Vezir.⁷⁵ In the

72a. Hadschi Chalfa, Rumili und Bosna, founded on Mehmed Ashık, mentions beside the Kasimiye a separate mosque and İmaret of Kasım Pasha in Thessaloniki.

73. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Şehrinin Kurucuları," in: *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, p. 175.

74. Gökbilgin in his standard work *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, (Istanbul, 1952), pp. 222 and 589, supposes that the person mentioned is Ceseri Kasım, without being certain.

75. Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livâsı*, p. 433.

first year of Süleiman the Magnificent (1520-'66) he was liberated from active service and pensioned, as other statesmen before him, with the calm governorship of Thessaloniki,⁷⁶ where he died. Ceseri Kasım Pasha was not only statesman, but also gained some reputation as a poet. Under the pseudonym Safi (the Pure) he wrote graceful poems in the style of Ahmad Pasha, the founder of classical Ottoman poetry and colleague of Kasım in state service; precisely because of his activity as a poet Kasım Pasha found his way into the works of biographers of Ottoman poets⁷⁷ who started their work in the 16th century (Sehi Bey and Latifi).

From the works of these writers we know that Kasım also founded an imaret for the poor in Thessaloniki, but whether this imaret was united with the Kasimiye mosque or stood separate, cannot be ascertained.

Another Poet-General who was pensioned with the governorship of Thessaloniki and transformed one of the old churches into a place of Islamic worship, was the old fire-eater Yakub Pasha. Yakub was Bosnian by birth and was brought up at the court of Mehmed Fatih. When Prince Bayazid was made Governor of Amasia in Central Anatolia, his father gave him Yakub as his Kapu Ağa (steward). When Bayazid ascended the throne of the Ottoman Empire in 1481, Yakub was promoted to the post of Sandjak Bey and later made tutor of Prince Ahmad. Still later he became Sandjak Bey of his native Bosnia, of Aydin near Smyrna, Lord Chamberlain of Prince Alem Shah, Beylerbey and finally Grand Vezir of the mighty Empire.⁷⁸ He reaped his greatest laurels in the grim frontier war in Croatia against the Austrians and Hungarians, especially in his great victory on the field of Krbavi in S. W. Croatia, 1493.⁷⁹ In Sarajevo we are reminded of the time when he was Sandjak Bey of Bosnia (1491-'93) by the mesdjid of Yakub Pasha which he had built in the just founded Bosnian capital in 897 H (A.D. 1491-'92),⁸⁰ which existed until 1936.

Some years before, his college (medresse) in Adrianople⁸¹ had been completed and in the last years of his life he made the Yakub Pasha Camii in Thessa-

76. *op. cit.* p. 434.

77. In this we again find the statement that Kasım Pasha built the mosque and Imaret.

78. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanische Dichtkunst* (Pesth, 1832), pp. 320 - 321.

79. More details on him by A. Olesnički, "Bošnjak Hadim Jakub-Paša, Pobjednik na Krbavske Polju 1493," in: *Rad Jugoslovenskih Akademija*, Knj. 264, (Zagreb, 1938), pp. 23-160.

80. For this see: Mehmed Müjezinović, "Nekoliko Nevjerodostojnih Turskih nadpisa u Sarajevu," *Naše Starine II* (Sarajevo, 1954), pp. 217 - 220.

81. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livāsi*, p. 458.

loniki.⁸² For this purpose the old church of St. Katharina was transformed, which must have taken place in 1510.⁸³

Yakub must have gathered a great deal of his experience in matters of poetry during his long stay at the princely court in Amasia, where Bayazid II had assembled around him an illustrious circle of poets and writers. His poems all breathe the air of a proud manliness in which his long life as a soldier is reflected and which shows a marked contrast to the sweet loveliness of roses and nightingales, so dear to classical Ottoman poetry.⁸⁴

Last of all we will add some remarks on the last two great churches which were taken from the Christians and transformed into mosques. We mean the St. Sophia and the Rotonda of St. George. As stated above, the transformation of the church of the Divine Wisdom into a mosque of the same name must have been part of the anti-Christian sentiments of large groups of the Moslem folk, because of the approach of the fatal year 1000 which was accompanied by numerous bad omens.

It could not have been the Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, who in the twenties of the 16th century was at the summit of his glory. The enormous popularity and building activity and particularly the tragic end of this son of a fisherman from Parga, must have been the reason why many a work of his less famous namesakes were attributed to him by the people. The mosque of Ibrahim Pasha in Kavala and the mighty aquaduct there are foundations of the famous Ibrahim,⁸⁵ but the enormous caravanseray-complex in the Bulgarian Tatar Pazarcik, which is also attributed to him, is the work of another man. This was Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vezir of Sultan Murad III, who in the last decade of the 16th century led the great campaign against the impregnable Hungarian fortress of Eger. Babinger's supposition⁸⁶ originates from a mistake of his in regarding Mehmed b. Ömer as a native of Thessaloniki instead of Trebizond. In reality this man worked only a few years in the city and his description of Thessaloniki contains several errors which make the things told by him about St. Sophia less creditable. Thus, he made an error in determining on which of the three sides the old mosque of Hafsa bint-i Hamza Bey was

82. idem p. 459.

83. Semavi Eyice, "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri I," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI, p. 157-182.

84. An example of his work is to be found in Hammer, G.O.D. I, pp. 32-321.

85. Undeniably so, by Pierre Belon du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularités...* (Paris, 1588) pp. 131-134.

86. In his study in B.Z. mentioned on note 66a, p. 19 and 20, note 5.

enlarged and also gives a wrong date ⁸⁷ about the year in which the church of St. George was transformed into the mosque of Sinan Pasha (1004 instead of the true date of 999). Another point that speaks in favour of a later date than Babinger suggested is the statement of the Italian traveller Lorenzo Bernardo who, in the year 1591, still saw the picture of a Pantocrator (Padre Dio) in the dome of the church. ⁸⁸

The last figure we shall discuss here is the already mentioned Sinan Pasha. This Kodja Sinan Pasha was born about the year 1500 in the Topoyani district in Middle Albania. By way of the Devshirme system he came into Turkish service and, after a long career, worked his way up to the most important function of the Empire. Five times in succession he was invested with the post of Grand Vezir in the difficult time of financial crisis and military defeat at the end of the 16th century. Sinan Pasha had a harsh character combined with an iron will. He was not well disposed towards the Christians and an outrage towards them by which his name lived on for many generations was the destruction of the holy relics of Saint Sava, the Patron Saint of Serbia for punishment of the rebellious attitude of this people against the Turks. Also by his fellow Moslems the embittered man was not loved.

Another side of his character was the great responsibility he felt for the public well-being, to which he devoted the greatest part of his fortune. In the great Islamic centres of that time, in Istanbul, Bursa, Belgrade, Cairo and Damascus, in the old princely town of Karaman and in the faraway Hasan Kale on the Persian frontier, but also in Bulgaria and Macedonia, he founded countless institutions for public welfare, mosques, schools, caravanserais, bridges, fountains, eating-houses for the poor, baths, etc. ⁸⁹

On the dangerous pass between Skopje and the plain of Kossovo he founded the little town of Kačanik. With the construction of a large mosque, a caravanseray for travellers, a bath, fountains and a number of shops he gave the just founded place a solid basis for further development. The ruin of the caravanseray and the well preserved mosque still dominate the silhouette

87. This last in Hadschi Chalfa's information, based on Mehmed Ashik's work (see note 72a).

88. A.M. Schneider, "Die Kuppelmosaiken der Hagia Sofia zu Konstantinople," in: *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wissens. Phil-Hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1949).

89. Semavi Eyice, "Türk Sanat Tarihi ile İlgili Yugoslav Yayınları," in: *Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu* XXIX-114 (Ankara, 1965), p. 378.

89a) This mosque bears an inscription of which a photograph and translation is in the writer's possession; H. 1003=A.D. 1594-1595.

of Kačanik. Sinan's son Kačanikli Mehmed Pasha followed his father's tracks in this matter.⁹⁰ His foundations were found in North-Western Macedonia.⁹¹

Sinan Pasha's foundation in Thessaloniki is only a small part of his activity, which extended over three continents. At the instigation of the Derwish Sheikh Hortacı in that city the old church of St. George was taken away from the Christians. Sinan Pasha provided the goods for the Vakıf and attended to the building work necessary to make it a mosque; he added the slender minaret in the form of those which had shortly before been built on the St. Sophia of Istanbul by Selim II. With the open portico in front and the remains of a large turbe in the back of the building, they are today the only objects reminiscent of Sinan Pasha. His name had long ago been replaced by that of Sheikh Hortacı, so that it is largely known as Hortacı Camii.

An inscription of four lines, which has remained preserved above the gate, mentions the name of Sheikh Hortacı and gives the date on which the building was made a mosque (Pl. VIII):

bunuñ fetħine sa'y (ii) himmet etdi şeyhⁱ hortacı
 tarîk-ı ĥakda avn-ı hādî ile mühtedî oldı
 kılındı çün namāz içinde aşık tārîhin dedi
 bu deyr-i köhne lâ şekk ehl-i islām ma'bedi oldı

Sene 999

For the conquest [and conversion of this place into a mosque] Sheikh Hortacı exerted himself
 This ancient convent incontestably became a place of prayer for the People of Islam
 With the help of God, he followed the path of the Truthful One
 In this place of prayer, [conquered by] his sword, he became an exemplary minister.

Anno 999

In the history of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Galerius, which during

90. His military career was not successful. He died shortly after 1600 and was buried behind his mosque in Skopje on whose inscription of 1602 he only bears the title of Ağa.

91. A mosque in Skopje, a caravanseray, bridge and fountain in Kačanik, a school, mosque and Hamam in Gostivar, in Tetovo a clock-tower, in Kičevo a Hamam and in Debar a caravanseray, zaviye, medjid, bridge and school.

More about him and his foundations by Hasan Kalesi and Mehmed Mehmedovski, *Trj Vakufnami na Kačanikli Mehmed, Paša*, Skopje 1958, with facsimiles of the documents and a résumé in French.

its long existence has served as temple, church, mosque, again church, and now as museum, we see reflected the turbulent history of this city, a history of which only a few details have been discussed here.

POSTSCRIPT

In the twenty years since this study was written new publications have enriched the picture of Turkish Thessaloniki, and hitherto unknown documents have shed light on controversial questions. Meanwhile the money made available to the Greek Archeological Service after the Thessaloniki earthquake of 1978, has not only been spent on the damaged Byzantine monuments, but the Ottoman buildings have also received their full share. Among the many new publications, the most important is without doubt the monumental *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epochi tis Turkokratias, 1430–1912* by Vasili Demetriadis (Thessaloniki, 1983). A survey of the restoration work after the earthquake is: Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, ed., *I Anastilosi ton Byzantinon kai Metabyzantinon Mnimeion sti Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 1985), and a handy survey of all the monuments is D. Nalpandis, ed., *Thessaloniki and its Monuments* (Ephorate of Byz. Antiquities, Thessaloniki, 1985). The cosmopolitan, multinational aspect of the city is presented by Elias Petsopoulos, *La présence ottomane à Salonique* (Athens, 1980).

At p. 124, n. 5: For the role of Thessaloniki in the emergence of the Morava School see in detail: Radovan Samardžić, ed., *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XVIe siècle* (Belgrade, 1987).

At pp. 125–26: For details of the conquest and Ottoman policy in the decade thereafter, see now: Speros Vryonis, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki', in: Anthony Bryer, Heath Lowry, eds., *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 281–321. Vryonis paints a rather austere picture of the situation of the Greek church in the decades after the conquest—perhaps too gloomy. An Ottoman document from 25 November 1521 (24 Zu'l-Hicce 927), which I introduced to the public at the Birmingham Spring Symposium of 1989, on the history of Thessaloniki, gives a list of the property of the Metropolitan church of Thessaloniki, St Sophia. The church had just been confiscated. The Ottoman census and taxation register T.D. 403 from shortly after 1523 but before 1530/31, mentions the same property in more detail and gives numbers: 143 houses, 79 shops and workshops and seven large gardens, all mentioned by name and with their yearly rental revenues. These totalled over 31,000 akçe, a large sum for that time (an imam in a mosque earned between 1,200–1,500, a skilled stone-cutter or carpenter 2,500–3,000 per year). The Vakf section of the same register gives the property of the Vlattadon Monastery in the city as 8,109 akçe and that of the Aya Moni as 9,300 akçe. The Greek church had thus been able to amass a considerable property in the years after the conquest, or had been able to keep something from before it.

At p. 126: On the population of Thessaloniki in 1478 see now, in detail: Heath Lowry, 'Portrait of a City: The population and topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the year 1478', *Diptycha* II (Athens, 1980/81), pp. 254–295.

At p. 128, n. 25: Amongst the more recent works the Turkish-period churches of Thessaloniki, note: Maria Ch. Vamvakou-Kambouris, 'O Aghios Athanasios Thessalonikis', in: Ch. Bouras, ed., *Ekklesias stin Ellada metà tin Alosi*, Vol. I (Athens, 1979), pp. 32–46; Georgios

Velenis, 'Tò polikoucho iero Vima ton trispóstaton ekklesion tis Tourkokratías', *op. cit.*, Vol. II (Athens, 1982), pp. 13–20; see also Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Anastilosi*.

At p. 129: For a discussion of the inscription of the Hamam of Sultan Murad and another edition of the text, see: Melik Delilbaşı, 'Sultan II. Murad'ın fetihten sonra (29 Mart 1430) Selânik'te izlediği politika ve bir hamam kitabesi', *Tarih Araştırma Dergisi* XIV, 25 (Ankara, 1982), pp. 361–364.

At p. 130: For the Çauş Monastery and its property see my: *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen, 1985), pp. 154–157, with a facsimile of the Ottoman property list of this monastery, from 1568/69.

At pp. 140–41, n. 67: The full text of this inscription was published by Robert Anhegger, 'Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte, III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre', *Istanbulur Mitteilungen*, 17 (1967), pp. 312–324.

At p. 143, n. 72a: Muhammed-i Aşık who, it is said, himself worked for some years in the 1590s in the administration of the pious foundations of Thessaloniki, wrote that Cezeri Kasım Pasha converted an old church into mosque, constructed an imaret for the poor next to it and added a hamam as source of revenue (*Menâzir ül-Avâlim*, Staatsbibliothek Berlin, M. Or. Quart 1344). The biographer of poets, Kınalı-zâde Hasan Çelebi (died 1604) mentions in his *Tezkiretü's-şu'ara* (ed. İbrahim Kutluk, Ankara 1978, p. 547) that the poet Safi (Cezeri Kasım) 'built a mosque and an imaret' in Thessaloniki during his retirement. The mosque is the well-known 14th-century Byzantine church of Dodeka Apostoli, which still stands and is well restored. The imaret has disappeared without a trace. The baths of Cezeri Kasım are also still standing, a little to the south of the church: in 1989 they were still in shameful state of neglect. They consist of a large single hamam with a monumental disrobing room in early Süleymanic style.

At pp. 145–46: My proposal of a late date for the conversion of St Sophia missed the mark. Among those in favour of a late 16th-century date are reputed scholars such as Texier and Pullan, Charles Diehl, Tafrali, Kramers (in E.I.¹) and lastly Speros Vryonis (in Bryer/Lowry, *Continuity and Change*). My own opinion was based on a remark in the work of Alfons Maria Schneider (see above n., 88), noting that the Italian traveller Lorenzo Bernardo in 1591 still saw a mosaic of the Pantokrator in the building. In 1988 I found the Ottoman letter of 25 November 1521, mentioned above, clearly showing that the church, then the Metropolitan church of the city, was in the process of being confiscated, together with all the property belonging to it. The reasons were some local conflict and irregularities on the part of the Metropolitan, only hinted at in the letter. In the register T.D. 403 of between 1523–1530 the property is mentioned as part of the *vakf* property of the 'Mosque of Aya Sofia, Vakf of the Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha'. The church was not confiscated by Ibrahim Pasha to turn it into a mosque. It was confiscated by the state and the revenue from its property went to the state treasury. A few years later Ibrahim Pasha must have bought church and property from the state and made it over to *vakf*. An interesting, though late, source is the Ottoman Yearbook of the Selânik Vilayet of 1324 (1906/07, chapter 'Ancient Monuments', p. 212), where we read that Ibrahim Pasha bought the church from the priests for a thousand gold doubloons, as well as a large plot of land where the Metropolitan's residence was then (1906) situated. In this perhaps partly legendary story the few years that the church was empty and the property of the state are forgotten. What was remembered is that Ibrahim bought the church. The date of conversion can now be established with help of the—somewhat cryptic—version of the inscription once situated above the main entrance of the church-mosque and noted by Evliya Çelebi (VIII, p. 154). The chronogram gives, in an unusual manner, the date of 930 (= 1524). It seems that Evliya did his work properly. During the 1989 Birmingham Spring Symposium Miss Kalliope Theocharidis told me that an old photograph of the now vanished inscription was preserved in the collections of the German Archeological Institute in Athens. I hope to compare this photograph with Evliya's text in the manner as in study VI of this volume. The problem of the mosaic of the Pantokrator was solved by Robin Cormack, 'The Apse Mosaic

of St Sophia at Thessaloniki', *Deltion tis Christianikis Archaialogikis Etairias* 10 (Athens, 1980/81), pp. 111–135 (=Variorum, *The Byzantine Eye*, 1989). My source for the note by Lorenzo Bernardo, Schneider, was a mis-translation of the old Italian original. The mosaic which Bernardo saw was not in St Sophia but in St George/the Rotunda, which had indeed in 1591 just been transformed into mosque, and there had yet been no time to cover up the mosaics. The text of 1591 was published by: B. Cecchetti, F. Stefani and G. Berchet, *Viaggi du un ambasciatore Veneziano da Venezia a Constantinopoli nel 1591* (Venice, 1886).

For the St Sophia see also: K. Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from its erection up to the Turkish conquest* (BAR International series 399, Oxford, 1988).

With the discovery of the 1521 letter the long discussion as to which was the metropolitan church of Thessaloniki in the first century of the Turkish rule is herewith settled: it was undeniably St Sophia.

II

A MONUMENT OF EARLY OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN BULGARIA

THE BEKTAŞI TEKKE OF KIDEMLİ BABA SULTAN AT KALUGEREVO — NOVA ZAGORA

Until a few years ago the architecture of the Turkish derwish orders of the classical period of Ottoman architecture was unknown.

In 1967 the profound and richly illustrated study by Prof. Semavi Eyice¹ of the Tekke of Akyazılı Sultan in North-East Bulgaria appeared, whereby the importance of this long-known but never understood monument was convincingly demonstrated and its place located in classical Ottoman architecture.

Of great importance is its reconstruction and an explanation of the function of the monumental edifice next to the Turbe of the Saint, i.e. the Asitane, the spacious hall in which the derwiches held their meetings. This hall of which the walls have remained up to the adjoin piece of the truss, is a rare type of Ottoman architecture of which it was the only known specimen.

The architectural heritage of the Osmanlı in the Balkans is for the most part little known, if at all. Thus, Bulgaria, Greece and also the Yugoslavian state of Makedonia still hold unknown treasures in the field of architecture.

Only the Bosnian Moslems and the Hungarians have performed meritorious work on a large scale, thanks to which we are better informed about these areas.

While making a journey of 16000 km through the former provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe in the summer of 1969²

¹ Prof. Dr. Semavi Eyice, Varna ile Balçık arasında Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi, in : *Belleten T. T. K.* No 124, Ekim 1967, pp. 551-600.

² This journey was made possible by a scholarship from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research, Z. W. O.

I was afforded the opportunity of visiting and describing several monuments unknown to science. One of these objects is the second example of a heptagonal *Âsitane* belonging to the classical period of Ottoman architecture.

The following may therefore be regarded as a brief addition to Prof. Eyice's study. This relates to the remains of the Tekke of Kıdemli Baba Sultan above the village of Kalugerovo in S. E. Bulgaria, about 15 km from Nova Zagora.

The region in which the Tekke is situated, North Thrace, is an area with a very agitated history as a perpetual borderland. After the emergence of Bulgaria as an independent state, in the 7th century, the undulating planes of Thrace were the scene of a never-ending struggle between the early Bulgarian Empire and Byzantium. An inscription by Khan Krum of this region, on a boundary post, has remained preserved³. At the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, in the 13th and 14th century, this region, now the south-west corner of Bulgaria, was a desolate and depopulated no man's land. Between the line Plovdiv (Filibe), Jambol and Edirne there was a strip of 150 km where hardly anyone lived. The fortresses at the border, Diampolis, Stenimachos, and Philipopol repeatedly changed hands. The terrible civil wars of the 14th century, which ravaged Byzantium under Andronikos II and III and the struggle for the throne of Kantakusinos and Paleologos, were largely responsible for this desolate state of affairs⁴.

Only after the definite occupation by the Ottomans did the

³ The inscription of Hambarlı near Yenice Kızılağaç (Elhovo). Published by V. Besevlev - Die Proto Bulgarischen Inschriften. Berlin 1963. '...and his brother did not forsake him and set out on a military expedition, and God gave him the following fortresses to conquer: Serdica, Debelto, Kostantia, Bersinikia, Adrianopol. These powerful fortresses were taken by him. And God instilled fear into the other fortresses and they (the Byzantines) left them and fled. Nor did he forget the Underland (the region to the south, the present Turkish Thrace), from the environs of which the old Emperor himself, the Bald One, had undertaken the expedition with his entire army and burnt our villages and devastated everything and had forgotten the oath, and the ruler Kroum rose up to wage war... and went forth... to destroy...' p. 126. An illustrative example of the history of this region, border warfare, invasions and expeditions of vengeance.

⁴ Constantin Jiricek, Das Fürstentum Bulgarien. Prag-Wien-Leipzig, 1891 pp. 48-52.

harrassed country come to rest⁵. This conquest is said to have occurred somewhere about 1361 and closely associated with the conquest of Edirne and Plovdiv. After the battle of Çirmen in 1371 the Turkish rule in Thrace was permanently established. They embarked almost immediately upon the large-scale repopulation of the vacant country, which had to be cultivated afresh. We find confirmation of this not only by various indications among Byzantine and Turkish historians but also in the Ottoman Archives, from which impressive material has been published⁶. It is also very characteristic that in this region practically all the names of villages, hills, meadows and water courses are Turkish, which proves that they did not find any previous population there that had passed on the existing names⁷.

An important role in founding new villages and cultivating the land was played by members of the religious brotherhoods.

The tendency of these orders, permeated as they were with the remnants of ancient national religion and shamanism, to link up with the ancient heathen or Christian cult centers is sufficiently known⁸. The wooded hill of Ada Tepe above Kalugerovo (the ancient

⁵ Idem. 'The Turkish conquest brought lasting peace to these countries and at the end of the 14th century the Ottoman colonization.'

⁶ O. L. Barkan, *Les deportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques, Université d'Istanbul*, 11e année No. 1-4. Münir Aktepe in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, X, 1951, pp. 299-312; XIV ve XV Asırlarda Türkler Tarafından İskânına Dair. O. L. Barkan, *Kolonizatör Dervişleri . . .*. In: *Vakıflar Dergisi II Ankara 1942*.

⁷ In Makedonia and Serbia and West Bulgaria, Turkish colonists settled among and next to existing population groups and took over the old toponomy from them. In these areas a considerable population was still existent, which fact can clearly be seen on Barkan's map in his 'Deportation comme methode. . . ' etc. The Bulgarian Government is making great efforts to replace the ancient Turkish place-names by Slavonic names, sometimes by translating the Turkish name. Sometimes by association with the great past prior to the year 1000 or by a name of a prominent figure from recent history. Offensive alterations such as Vasil Levski for Karlovo (a township founded by Karlozade Ali Bey, tutor of Princes under Bayazid II), Poljanovgrad for Karnobad (Karinovası) or Kolarovgrad for Šumen, have fortunately been cancelled.

⁸ For greater detail on this see: F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929 and J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Derwishes*, London 1937.

Characteristic is the finding of the foundations of a large Byzantine Monastery

Tekke Mahalle) is an ideal site for a sanctuary of one of the nature gods. The isolated hill towers up visibly from afar high above the surrounding plain. Only on the south side does it continue in a series of lower hills, now called the hills of Sveti Ilija. The Tekke of Kıdemli Baba lies in a deserted region far removed from the main thoroughfares in an area which until recently could be reached with a farmer's waggon. This is no doubt the reason why the Tekke has so far remained practically unknown⁹. Only the indefatigable Evliya Çelebi gives a few valuable particulars in his Seyahatname.

According to him Kıdemli Baba obtained permission from Hoca Ahmad Yesevi to leave for Rumili. It was Hacı Bektaş who clothed him with the mantle. He chose the lonely height as his abode¹⁰ and, at the time of his death, had gathered around him a large number of disciples¹¹.

When Çelebi Sultan Mehmed¹² heard of his death he at once

dating from the period between 500 and 700 A. D. under the spot where the Kara-ağaç Tekke stood (near Varna) in the previous century. The monastery must have been destroyed before the year 1000, but the spot continued to be a place of reverence, in which the Bektaşî joined. See for these excavations: M. Mircev, Fouilles du Karac Tekke près de la ville Varna in: *Izvestija Bălg. Arkeol. Institut* 17, Sofia 1950, pp. 284-289.

In his study 'Zum islamischen Heiligenwesen auf dem Balkan, vorab im Thrakischen Raumé,' in: *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, I, Wiesbaden 1962. PP. 46-59 H. J. Kissling mentions the Turbe of Kıdemli Baba founding himself on Evliya's notes. He underlined the possible survival of remains of the cult of Dionysos-Orpheus in this place. (P. 58-59) His supposition that Ada Tepe must be a Tumulus can not be right as the hill is only a natural continuing of the chain of Sv. Ilija. Remains of older buildings under the present ones would be highly probable.

⁹ Peter Detev wrote a meritorious essay on this in the Bulgarian language, to which, however, no attention has been paid. P. Detev, *Starinite v rida Sv. Ilije*, in: *Izvestija Naroden Muzej Burgas*, I, 1950, pp. 92-95.

¹⁰ The Tekke of Sarı Saltık Dede in Kruja, Albania, also lies on a high mountain-top.

¹¹ In spite of the highly legendary character of Evliya's story, we have here again a clear indication of on of the Saints from Horasan who overran Anatolia in the 14th century.

About the historical Kıdemli Baba see: Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk mütesavvıflar*, Istanbul 1923 P. 54. Which work unfortunately could not be used for this article.

¹² Kissling mentions in his translation Mehmed the Second as founder; Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis im 17. Jahrh.*, in: *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXII*, Wiesbaden 1956. P. 27

sent constructors to the place to build a Turbe. The same Sultan also attended to the erection of a separate Tekke, kiler and mescid and provided in addition a large area with seven villages as Vakf.

If Evliya's statement is correct, then we have here one of the oldest Turkish monuments of the Balkans¹³ and the third preserved foundation of this Sultan in Europe after the Bedesten of Edirne and the Great Mosque of Dimitoka (Didymotichon) in Greek Thrace. The characteristics of the architecture would seem to confirm this.

The Turbe, on the barren flat top of the hill, with a grand view in all directions, is the only part of the Tekke which has remained in good condition. The walls of the Âsitane remained preserved on the south side to a height of 5 metres. Of the other sides of this building the foundations are still standing. Of the remaining buildings, too, only vague traces can still be discerned. Wall remnants at the lower end of the hill-top suggest that the whole complex had formerly been surrounded by a wall. The correct course of this wall and the shape of the other buildings can only be ascertained in the course of excavations.

The Turbe is a brilliant work of faultlessly cut and polished blocks of white marble placed upon each other in a manner which we find many other early Ottoman works (Firuz Bey Cami, Milas 1394; Iliyas Bey Cami in Milet, 1404; Yeşil Cami Bursa, 1415 etc.). It is heptagonal in shape, this being characteristic of the Bektaşî numerical symbolism, surmounted by a dome, and has a lower, square entrance-hall which is likewise surmounted by a dome. It has massive and extremely sober proportions and a severe and princely aspect. The only part having a richer adornment is the portal with its arched door lintel of alternately pink and white marble and is faultlessly worked.

The entire outer covering is executed with an astonishing mastery which can only be found in the building sheds of the capital. Native

For various reasons it was not possible to control from this place the translation of Kissling on this critical point, it is almost sure however that it must be Mehmed I as the Bulgarian translation of Gadzanov also mentions his name, the other details given by Evliya point to him as does the style of architecture of the Turbe.

¹³ Not far from Kîdemli Baba are the old towns of Stara Zagora and Jambol with their very ancient mosques, also dating from the earliest periode of Turkish rule over Thrace.

architects or workers have never been able to perform such work. Bulgarian architecture of the middle ages is distinguished precisely by the rough material that was used and the inaccurate way of building with numerous deviations¹⁴. As we have seen above, this region was uninhabited before the advent of the Turks, so that for this reason alone there can be no question of local masters. There is no doubt that these came from one of the ancient centres of Turkish architecture in Bursa or Central Anatolia, such as Hacı Alaedin of Konya, the architect of the Eski Cami of Edirne, or Hacı Ivaz Paşa of Tokat, builder of the Yeşil Cami of Bursa and the Great Mosque of Dimetoka, of the years 1420-21. One is tempted, perhaps with good reason, to regard him as the architect of the magnificent Turbe of Kıdemli Baba.

An element that reminds one strongly of the buildings at Bursa, Milet, Milas etc. is the execution of the tambour of the dome. The marble covering of the Turbe is finished at a height of 5.30 m by a cornice. The tambour (1.70 m in height) recedes somewhat and is also terminated by a cornice, above which the tiled roof the dome only slightly protrudes. The tambour is not of the magnificent paleozoic marble but of a greenish broken stone and brick which is white-plastered. We find the same mode of working on the above mentioned buildings in Milas and Milet and also on the Green Mosque of Bursa, apart from the tiling.

The high tambour is a characteristic of Early Ottoman architecture as is also the mode of wall workmanship. A late example of a Turbe showing a distinct difference between the upper and lower part of the Turbe is that of Ishak Paşa in Skopje in Yugoslavia dating from the year 1445. Here, the upper part is not of an inferior kind of stone and plastered, but is covered with geometrical tiling, for the rest the idea is the same.

After about the middle of the 15th century the high tambour disappears and the cornice between tambour and mainbody is used exclusively to impart a livelier character to the whole and no longer for the parting of separate constructional components.

¹⁴ For instance the Court Church on the Tsarevets Hill in Trnovo, built by czar Ivan Alexander.

In all probability we are here confronted with a Turbe which is a splendid example of Early-Ottoman architecture from the 1413-1420 period. The Turbe's of two other big Bektaşî Tekke's, Akyazılı Baba and Osman Baba near Haskovo are of altogether different structure and date from the end of the 15th century^{14a}.

The establishing of the above-mentioned dating has to be sought in archive documents or, better still, in the Vakıfname as there are no inscriptions of any kind on the building itself. In view of the early date, this is very unlikely.

Until quite recently the Turbe was in excellent condition¹⁵, but sustained considerable damage in the first half of 1969 as a result of undermining and digging by fanatical treasure-hunters¹⁶. These treasure-hunters broke the door open, thereby smashing the marble door-post. They hacked the flagstone floor open and struck a hole in the sarcophagus, in course of which they disturbed the remains of the Saint. It is worthy of mention that the skull was brachycephalic (short-skulled) and had a very thick parietal bone. It clearly showed the traces of a skull trepanation, which had for long been ossified. This is a possible indication of the secret practices of the derwishes, who in this way sought to attain a state of ecstasy.

Unfortunately the Âsitane of the Tekke of Kıdemli Baba is a heap of stone without much shape. It therefore did not occur to Detev¹⁷ what shape it had or what its function was. The heptagonal base is still clearly ascertainable, with a niche in the middle of each side and three niches on one side. No traces of a large 'ocak' have

^{14a} Eyice dated Akyazılı somewhere about 1500. Osman Baba was built, according to Evliya Çelebi, by Sultan Bayazid II. During a visit to this Tekke I found it impossible to read or photograph the high-positioned inscription. Evliya further reports that another part of the Tekke was built by Yahya Paşaoğlu Mehmed Bey. The broken and incomplete inscription bearing his name has remained preserved in Osman Baba, on aside building. Evliya mention of Bayazid as builder may therefore very well be correct, so that both Turbe's date from about 1500.

¹⁵ It was provided with a new ceramic roof and the tambour newly plastered by the Institut for the preservation of Ancient Monuments of the District of Burgas.

¹⁶ These treasure-hunters (in Bulgarian Malcı) are a veritable plague to this country. Their devastating imagination resulted also in the ruin of the most extraordinary 14th century frescos of the grotto church Gligore in the lonely Iskar canyon near Gara Karlukovo.

¹⁷ Peter Detev. In his work cited in note 9.

been found. The edifice is situated about 35 metres away from the Turbe on a lower part of the hill-top.

As the building lies on a very steep slope, a terrace first had to be formed, and on that side the masonry is still 5 metres high. Slightly further away the crumbling edifice is still nearly 2 metres above ground level. The walls are built of far more simple material than the Turbe, namely of "cloisonnée".

The floor level, covered with debris and overgrown, could no longer be established, nor could the original height of the walls. Nevertheless, we can ascertain with certainty that we are here confronted with a second example, possibly an older one, of the type figuring in religious architecture of the great derwish orders belonging to the period of classical Ottoman architecture. As such, the crumbling walls of Kıdemli Baba are important and are deserving better care.

POSTSCRIPT

During my last visit to the Tekke of Kıdemli Baba, in September 1988, the buildings were in exactly the same state as almost 20 years before. Absolutely nothing was changed. The lonely place is seldom visited.

The oldest written evidence on the Tekke I was able to find, half a century before the account of Evliya Çelebi, is a letter of the Ottoman government to the local authorities of Zağra Yenicesi in the year 1609, as contained in the copy books of the decisions of the Imperial Divan (Mühimme Defter No 78, p. 444) in the B.B.A. Istanbul. It states that the sheikh and the dervishes (here styled Işık) were to be seen as heretics who had to be chased away. Close scrutiny of the many mufassal tahrirs of the Sandjak of Cirmen, in which Zağra Yenicesi (Nova Zagora) is situated, might yield more and much older dates.

III

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF NORTHERN GREECE DURING THE TURKISH RULE

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH MONUMENTS OF KOMOTINI AND SERRES, THEIR PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE, AND THEIR PRESENT CONDITION *

The rich cultural history of the later middle ages and of the modern times of many cities of present-day Northern Greece, and the often imposing architectural monuments of this period, which survived the wars and destructions of our century, still remain for the greater part unknown and unstudied. This period, coinciding almost entirely with that of the Turkish rule of the Balkans, certainly deserves more attention. The area bordered by the snowy peaks of the Rhodope Mountains and the blue waters of the Aegean Sea constituted the oldest part of Turkish Europe, which remained in their hands without interruption since the days of its conquest in the third quarter of the 14th century, right up to 1912.

Maybe because of the fertility of its soil and its strategic importance as a place through which the Via Egnatia ran, special attention was given to this territory in the days when the Ottoman Empire was at its zenith. The history, as well as the preserved monuments of this period, clearly testify to this. Dydimotichon, the first Turkish residence on European soil, kept the Ottoman state treasury between its double circuit of walls.¹ A building which still reminds us of the time when it was an imperial residence, is the magnificent mosque on the central square of that place, built in 1420 at the order of Sultan Mehmed Çelebi by the architect of the famous Green Mosque of the Anatolian Bursa,

* This article is the fruit of five journeys in northern Macedonia in the years 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970 and 1971. The three last ones were made possible by bursaries of the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Scientific Research, Z.W.O. and gifts from the Prince Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam for which I sincerely thank them.

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New edition, vol. II Leiden 1965, pp. 291-292, under "Dydimotika."

Hadji Ivaz, Pasha of Tokat.² Komotini was made into a great trading and craftsman centre, and the oldest Turkish monument preserved in Europe, the Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, is still to be seen there. The works of the Grand Vezir of Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent, Ibrahim Pasha (son of a Greek fisherman of Parga), enabled Kavalla to grow within a few years from a settlement of a few hundred inhabitants into a respectable town.³ Serres was the residence of Ottoman Princesses and has produced a large number of poets and writers whose works enriched the immense treasurehouse of classical Ottoman poetry.⁴

The same can be said about the old Yenice Vardar — Yiannitsa — the town which under the protection of the powerful Emirs of the family of Evrenosoğlu produced so many writers and thinkers of renown and in which the remains of one of the most original works of Ottoman architecture are still to be seen.⁵

A description of the architectural wealth of Northern Greece in the field of Ottoman Turkish monuments would at least fill a monography. In the present paper a description can be given only of those works which are in im-

2. A short study of this mosque exists in Turkish by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, "Dimetoka 'da Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Cami'i," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi III*, Ankara 1956, pp. 13-16. The mosque is still in good condition but needs a better function, it being used at present as a store for grains. Dimetochon was also a centre of Islamic learning. At least 3 colleges (medresses) are known to have existed there, the Oruç Pasha medresse, the Karagöz Pasha medresse and the Abdülvâsi medresse.

3. Paul Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale*, Paris 1945, p. 191. Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les observations des Plusieurs Singularités et Choses*, etc. Paris 1588. Mentions the construction of the aquaduct, mosque, caravanseray, etc. and points out the rapid expansion of the town after water was conveyed to it (pp. 131-133). The size of the town before the aquaduct was built can be seen from the map in the study of Prof. Ö.L. Barkan, "Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman," in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques de l'Université de Istanbul*, No 11, 1956. A hundred Christian families are indicated for the period of the first decades of the 16th century. Along with them lived 50 Moslem families.

4. The best work on this subject still remains E.J.W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1903 (5 vols.). This is not so much because it gives a complete history of the subject, but more particularly because of the sublime manner in which the writer initiates the reader into the spirit of Turkish literary life and the religious currents which influenced it. See also Alessio Bombaci, *Storia della Letteratura Turca*. The long list of writers and poets who were born or who lived in Serres, and the life and works of the great Sheih Bedreddin Mahmud, philosopher and revolutionary of the early 15th century, who died in Serres, must unfortunately be left out of discussion. They prove that this city was more than a trading and military centre, it having been one of the ten largest cities of Turkish Europe.

5. The author of these pages has prepared a special study on the literary life and the main architectural works of this city, which is now at the press.

diate danger of destruction and disappearance or which, for reasons of their great importance to the history of art, call for special attention. These are the mosques and other buildings in the cities of Komotini and Serres.

KOMOTINI.

Komotini, in Turkish Güimülcine, is the largest and most important city of that part of Thrace which, as result of the wars and subsequent treaties of the first quarter of our century, became united to Greece. It does not belong to the oldest settlements in these areas. According to the researches of the much-regretted Stilpon Kyriakides⁶ it was first mentioned in the first half of the 14th century as a *polisma*, or small fortified settlement. Its foundation goes back to an early byzantine fortress which was built by the Emperor Theodosios (379-395) to protect the road-junction of the Via Egnatia and the pass-road across the Rhodope to the Arda valley and Philippopolis (Plovdiv). When the Bulgarian Czar Kaloyan, during his campaign of 1207, destroyed the ancient city of Mosynopolis, the remaining inhabitants fled within the walls of this small but preserved fortress, thus forming the nucleus of the later city. During the civil wars and troubles of the 14th century the town was mentioned several times. From the fact that it was not a residence of a bishop, Kyriakides concluded that at that time it was still a very small settlement.

The conquest of Komotini by the Turks, which must have taken place in 1361 or 1362,⁷ is closely related to the name of Ghazi Evrenos, the famous captain of the Early Ottoman period, who during his long life carried the banner of Islam deep into the Balkan Peninsula. He is mentioned as one of the commanders of the reinforcements sent by Orhan to support Cantacuzinos against John V Paleologos and took active part in all the great events of that stormy period.⁸ Komotini became one of the centres of his extensive feudal possessions and the first establishments of Turkish cultural life go back to his activities in this field.

The Turkish victory near Cirmen in 1371 eliminated the power of the Serbs, who had held the Balkans under their sway during the previous decades.

6. See the summary by G.I. Theocharides of the three lectures on "The history of the Thracians and the cities of Komotini and Xanthi" as given by Kyriakides, in: *Balkan Studies*, vol 2, Thessaloniki 1961, pp. 323-329. Kyriakides mentions an ancient inscription in brick on the walls of the castle, which has now disappeared.

7. See Kyriakides and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, under "Ewrenos Bey."

8. For a survey of his deeds and a reliable frame of dates, see: *Encyclop. of Islam*, Ewrenos Bey, pp. 720-721.

At about the same time Kavalla was conquered and the Turkish positions in Thrace were secured. After the fall of Serres in 1383⁹ the greater part of Macedonia also fell into Turkish hands. In the great plains of Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, which, as result of the terrible civil wars, Serbian invasion and plague, remained to a large extent without hands to till its fertile soil, the conquerors settled large masses of the surplus population of Asia Minor. In the cities the Greek element survived all trouble, whilst of all Thrace only the eastern shore of the Black Sea retained its original Greek rural population, a population which survived there right into our age but which was forced to leave its ancestral lands as a result of the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne.

The result of this large-scale repopulation can be seen on the surveyable map of Prof. Barkan¹⁰ for the period around the beginning of the 16th century. According to that map, drawn up on the solid base of the Turkish census registers, the total population of the area between the rivers Maritsa, Arda, Nessos and the Aegean Sea with the towns of Pherrai, Dydimotichon and Komotini, counted 15,250 families. 12,500 families are registered as Moslems and only 2,750 as Christians. This makes 82% Moslems and 18% Christians. If we compare these numbers with those given by Andreadis¹¹ for the beginning of our century at once it becomes clear that no great changes have taken place in that area since the colonization of Thrace by the Turks. In the 15th and the greater part of the 16th century Komotini remained a small place. On Barkan's map it has about 250 Moslem families and 50 Christian families. The French traveller Pierre Belon¹² called it "petite bourgade Commercine" with the ruins of a small "castellet" in which there was a Greek church.

The period of expansion and growth must have begun somewhat later in the 16th century and especially in the 17th century. The most valuable information about the city is the long description of it in the great *Seyahatnâme*, or Travel Book, of the Turkish globe-trotter and geographer Evliya Çelebi. That part contains, besides a great deal of nonsense and exaggeration, an enor-

9. See for this: G. Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs," in: *Byzantion XXXV* (1965), pp. 302-219.

10. See note 3 (Barkan, "Les deportations," etc.).

11. K.G. Andreadis, *The Moslem Minority in Western Thrace*, Thessaloniki 1956, p. 9. Gives the situation in 1951. The official minutes of the Lausanne Conference (First Series, Vol. I, pp. 30-33 and 49) give the number of the total population of Western Thrace for the years 1922-1923 as 161,199. 129,120 were Moslems and 33,910 Greeks, the remainder being Jews, Armenians and Bulgarians.

12. See note 3 (Pierre Belon, *Observations*, p. 136.)

mous amount of reliable information which is found nowhere else.¹³ In his time, the second half of the 17th century, Komotini had grown into a large city of 4,000 houses of several storeys with gardens. The castle was in bad condition, it had no guns and there was no arsenal, because it was an inland fortress of no strategic importance. Within the castle walls there lived mainly Jews. There were also many gypsies, who lived as blacksmiths, musicians or as street-robbers. In his time there were 16 mosques in the city, which corresponds with the number of 16 town quarters which he mentions. He especially mentions the mosques of Eski Cami (Old Mosque) from the year H. 1017 = 1607 - 1608, the Yeni Cami with very remarkable furniture and calligraphy, the Mosques of Hadji Bitlisli, Culha and the Tekke Cami and Ghazi Evrenos Cami. For education and spiritual life there were five Dar ul Hadis, or schools in which the Islamic Tradition, the source of Sheriat Law, was taught, seven primary schools (Mekteb) which were covered with lead, and several Tekkes or Dervish Convents, that of Ghazi Evrenos being the most beautiful. In addition there were two Imarets or houses where the poor could eat free of charge, one of which was built by Ghazi Evrenos, and two hamams, or public hot-baths. These were foundations of Evrenos and of the founder of the Yeni Cami, Ahmad. In the city there were 17 hans (karavanseray) for traders and 400 shops. The weekly market was held in the plain outside the city. Evliya especially notes that the population of this place was handsome and friendly.

In later times the city continued to flourish, because of the trade between the Aegean region and the rich plains of the upper Maritsa lowlands around Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Tatar Pazarcik. This very old trade route, which is now unfortunately blocked, is still lined with beautiful mountain settlements

13. The part concerning Athens and Attika was translated by K. Bires, *Ta Attika tou Evlia Tselebi*, Athina 1959. A translation of the districts around Thessaloniki has been made by Nicephoros Moschopoulos, "L'itinéraire d'Evlia Tselebi," in: *Epetiris Etairias Byzantinon Spoudon* XIV Athens 1938. The translator, who evidently had only a superficial knowledge of the methods of Evliya, concluded that he was an unreliable source. The parts concerning Thrace as a unit, disregarding the present frontiers, has been translated in a careful and systematic manner by H.J. Kissling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17e Jahrh." in: *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXXII, Wiesbaden 1957. I. Spatharis, "Hi Dytiki Thraki kata ton Evlia Tselebi, periigitin tou XVII aionos," (Western Thrace according to Evlia Tselebi, Traveller of the XVIIth century) *Thrakika* vol. 4 (1933) pp. 113-128, and vol. 5 (1934) pp. 179-217. For the isle of Crete see: Paul Hidiroglou, *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Ewlija Celebi*, Leiden 1969. The parts concerning Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugoslavia and Rumania have been translated several times, recently and even half a century ago.

full of palace-like houses of the former wealthy merchants. This is especially the case on the Bulgarian side of the present-day frontier, where complete old settlements like Raikovo, Smoljan or Stoikite are preserved in their entirety and are placed under the care of the Department of Historical Monuments.

In present-day Komotini, which, as a result of the Lausanne Treaty, retained its Turkish population, more than 20 mosques are preserved; most of them still serving as house of prayer. Only three of them have real architectural value. These are the Eski Cami, the Yeni Cami and the Imaret of Evrenos Bey. Besides this, the huge Saat Kule, or Clock Tower, which still forms the centre of the picturesque old Bazaar, is a monument of architecture. It was a present to the city by Sultan Abdul Hamid II (one of his very rare good deeds) of the year 1884, as is stated in the inscription on its walls. In Latin transliteration and translation it reads as follows:¹⁴ (Turkish, verse)

(1) Sheh-in-shāh-i kerem-ver hazret-i 'Abd-ül-Hamid Khāniñ
'Uluvv-i himmeti maşrūfdur dā'im meberrate

(2) Bu bālā qulle-yi yaptırdı sâ'at . . . (?) ve vaz' etdi
Qawıyan ihitiyâjı vardı shehriñ böyle miqâte

(3) Buni emr-etdi 'Abd-ül-Qādir Kemāli Pashaya kim ya'ni
Livāda hasan ijrā-yi hükümet eyleyan zāte

(4) Sadā verdi bu sâ'at lutf-i sultāniden āfāqa
Olur elbett delil āsar-i khayriye kemālāte

(5) Bu tārīkh-i selīm tāmmdir sâ'at gibi 'irfān(?)
Bu sâ'atden vatan ehli hep agāh oldı awḫāte. 1302

(1) The munificent shah of shahs, his Excellency 'Abd-ül-Hamid Khān
Spends many efforts on creating permanent public works.

(2) This high tower he ordered to make, and he (?) and placed a clock;
The town was in serious need of such a time- indicator.

(3) Order for this he gave to 'Abd-ül-Qādir Kemāli Pasha,
The one who exercises a good rule in the *sanjak*.

(4) This clock sounds, thanks to the goodness of the sultan, as far as the
horizons;

The creation of pious monuments is certainly a token of virtues.

(5) This perfect chronogram is complete,(?):

14. This and other translations of inscriptions I obtained through the kind help of Drs. F. Th. Dijkema of Leyden, for which I sincerely thank him. The photographs of them were taken by the author in the summer of 1970.

Through this clock the people of the land are wholly aware of the time.

1302

(21 october 1884 - 10 october 1885)

Of the Eski Cami, in the very centre of the city, not much can be said. It is a relatively small single-cell mosque of low and simple proportions and is covered by a dome which rests on a circular drum. The dome is tiled and the entire wall surface is covered by a thick layer of plaster. According to a notice in the official Ottoman Yearbook of the Vilayet of Edirne (Adrianople) of the year 1892/93 ^{14a} this mosque had been a church before the Turkish conquest. According to Evliya Celebi ^{14b} the Eski Cami was built in 1608/09. This would mean that the ancient church was demolished and the present building erected on its place. The name of the person who was responsible for this action is not recorded. The Salname further reports that the mosque was repaired in H. 1270 = 1853/54. This repair must have been responsible for the present appearance of the building, which was enlarged to such proportions that the part of 1608 became only its sanctuary. The slender minaret with the unusual twin balconies was also added at that time. These two balconies might indicate that the work on the mosque was carried out on order or at the expence of the reigning sultan (Abdülmecid I, 1839-1861) as such minarets were an imperial prerogative. This is, however, only a supposition.

Of much greater importance is the Yeni Cami or New Mosque. It was likewise enlarged in the last century to hold the growing masses of True Believers of the quickly expanding city. It is only due to the sense of piety for things of the old time that both mosques were not demolished and rebuilt on a larger scale. The Yeni Cami was only enlarged in the northern and western directions, leaving free the two other sides. The old building, which is remarkably well preserved, is a small but richly adorned single-cell mosque of the size of a small city mosque. Its square prayer-hall measures 11,40 by 11,40 m. The minaret is on the western front side, as is usual. In order to obtain a larger and more impressive front, this part was widened by means of massive wings, one of which covers the minaret on the front side. In this way a portico could be built in front of the prayer-hall which consisted of five domed squares, supported by six marble columns, instead of three domes on four columns. It is a solution often found in Ottoman architecture, which always aimed at the greatest possible monumentality of the exterior of a mosque. In the present form of the portico,

14a. Salname-i-Edirne, No 19 of the year 1310 H. = 1892/93, p. 417.

14b. Evliya by Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens* (see note 13) p. 90.

which after the enlargement of the last century served as part of the prayer-hall, the original form can be found without difficulty. In the interior of the old domed mosque the rich furniture and adornment of which Evliya Çelebi spoke, remains almost untouched. In this little mosque we find examples of oriental decorative art which are unrivalled, even in the old Ottoman capitals and the cities of Asia Minor. These are the beautiful multi-coloured marble mihrab (prayer-niche indicating the direction of Mecca) and minbar (pulpit), and the women's gallery, the calligraphic inscriptions and the two fields of multi-coloured floral tiles of the decoration on both sides of the mihrab. They belong to the best work of the great tile production of the famous Iznik workshops, dating from the eighties or early nineties of the 16th century, when the Turkish ceramic industry was at the summit of its unsurpassable beauty. The tiles of the Yeni Cami of Komotini are the only example of a well preserved Turkish tile decoration outside present-day Turkey (those of the Selimiye Cami at Rogatica, Bosnia, and the Recep Pasha Cami in Rodos have been removed to museums) and certainly deserve to be known to a wider circle of people. The Yeni Cami of Komotini has more to offer than the above-mentioned objects. It is the ceiling of the women's gallery which constitutes the most priceless work of applied art of the Orient. The three compartments, or tavans, of this gallery are made of the most beautiful inlaid work of precious kinds of wood in geometrical patterns. This adornment is combined with ornamental painting on silk, which is stuck on wood and shows subtle geometrical and floral designs. These three little tavans are the last remaining examples of Classical Ottoman decorative art outside Turkey, which are unspoilt and almost untouched.¹⁵ Altogether this small interior still gives an impression of the richness and refinement of an old Turkish interior, which is preserved hardly anywhere else in the Balkans.

Within the walls of the complex of buildings, which besides the mosque contains a domed and lead-covered library, study rooms, living-quarters, a graveyard, a fountain and a türbe (mausoleum), all grouped around an intimate courtyard, three inscriptions have been preserved. The oldest is that above the original entrance of the mosque. It contains the Islamic credo and is without historical interest. Of much later period is that on the humble, wood-covered türbe next to the Saat Kule which contains the grave of Fatma Hanım, wife of

15. The technique in which they are adorned is called Edirne Kari Laka. As rare examples in Turkey may be cited those in the Sokollo Mehmed Mosque (1571) and the Rüstem Pasha Mosque, both in Istanbul. In the latter they are unfortunately covered by a layer of inferior work. I obtained this information from Mrs. Mualla Eyuboglu for which I sincerely thank her.

the Vezir Hasan Pasha, who was a native of the North Bulgarian city of Rouse (Turkish Roushouk) and died in Komotini where she was buried. The inscription is written in Turkish prose and reads as follows:

- (1) Fî l-asl Ruschuq sâkinelerinden olub vezîr-i
- (2) mûkerrem-i sherîf Hasan Pasha hazretleriniñ taht-i
- (3) nikâhında iken bi-taqdîr Allâh ta'âlâ dar-i beqāya
- (4) rihlet eden merhûme ve meghfûre Fâtma Khânim
- (5) rûh-içün el-Fâtiha. Sene 1195, yevm-i Sabat.

“Recite the Fatiha for the soul of Fatma Khanim, originally a resident of Ruschuq, married to the honorable Vezir, his Excellency Hasan Pasha, by order of God — may he be exalted — having moved to the Eternal Abode, may God have mercy with her and forgive her her sins. The year 1195, on Saturday (= A.D. 1781).”

Her husband was the Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Empire Roushouklu Serif Hasan Pasha who died in H. 1205 = 1790 and was buried in the courtyard of the Eski Cami of Shoumen in Northern Bulgaria, not far from Rouse. His finely adorned-grave stone still remains preserved on its original place.

The third inscription of Komotini mentions the building of a fountain in the yard of the mosque by a certain Hadji Mehmed in the year 1226 H. It is written in Turkish poetry:

- (1) Yeñi jâmi'de zehi cheshme-i nev-i bünyâdîñ
Oldı jereyânı ile zümre-i 'atshân irvâ'
 - (2) Yapdırub kân-i kerem Hâjji Mehmed qıldı
Anı ikhlâs ile ruh-i Hasaneye ihdâ'
 - (3) Teshnegâne oqı nutqi dedi târikk-i tamâm
Hasaneyn 'ashqına bu cheshme-i nevden ich mâ'
- Sene 1226.

- (1) Through the streaming of this newly built cheshme in the New Mosque the thirsty are refreshed.
- (2) The mine of munificence Hâjji Mehmed had it made and he dedicated it with sincerity to the souls of the two Hasans (= Hasan and Hüseyin)
- (3) To the thirsty(?) spoke a perfect chronogram: Out of love for the two Hasans, drink water from this new cheshme. The year 1226 (between 26 January 1811 and 15 January 1812).

The year in which the mosque was built and the name of its founder are

difficult to establish. There is no founder's inscription and the otherwise detailed Evliya Çelebi deserts us here. He only stated that the name of the founder was Ahmad and that, on a fountain next to the mosque the date of H. 1040 (1630/31) was written. This fountain does no longer exist. As the tiles in the mosque are from the period between 1580-1590 we now have a terminus post and ante quem. A further indication is given by the Salname, which states that the founder of the mosque was a certain Defterdar Ahmad. According to the Salname the date in which the mosque was built was unknown.^{15a}

A man who could built at his own expence such a costly decorated mosque and who also founded, as we saw, a hamam and a imaret for the poor, could only be a member of the imperial government, a Pasha. An Ahmad Pasha who was Defterdar and possessed the wealth for construction on large scale in the period between our dates was Ekmekcioğlu Ahmad Pasha, Defterdar or "Minister of Finances" of sultan Ahmad I and Osman II in the first decades of the 17th century. Precisely this fabulous rich man was very active in founding mosques and institutions for public welfare in all parts of Central and Western Thrace, the area in which Komotini is situated. From various sources his activities in this field can be traced.

The still existing Ekmekcioğlu Han in Adrianople (Edirne) was according to its inscription built by him in H. 1018 = 1609. So was the bridge over the Tunca river in the same city, built in H. 1016 = 1607/08 (inscription) and the Havlucular Han, of which only a row of shops and a costly decorated fountain (sebil) with two inscriptions are preserved, built in 1010 = 1601/02. A medresse built by Ekmekcioğlu Ahmad is preserved in Istanbul in the quarter of the city between the mosques of Bayazid and Şehzâde. Besides this still existing buildings we find several others mentioned in the literature. The historian of the Ottoman Empire Joseph von Hammer wrote¹⁶ that Ekmekcioğlu Ahmad died in the first year of the reign of sultan Osman II, in 1618. Shortly before his death he had spend 6,000,000 silver pieces to have the important fortress of Oczakov on the frontier with Russia rebuilt and to found on the peninsulae opposite it the new fortress of Kilburun. In addition to the above von Hammer mentioned the medresse in Istanbul and a han in Ereğli on the Sea of Marmara. This building had disappeared without leaving traces, as we could observe during our visit to that place in 1971. The 17th century Turkish historian Naima also gives a list of buildings without mentioning Komotini or bringing new

15a. Salname-i-Edirne, No 19, p. 418.

16. J. Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pesth 1827-18 35, in the part concerning the reign of Osman II, Band IV, p. 510.

materials. He finishes his list with the words "... besides several other buildings for benevolent purpose."^{16a} Some of these "several other buildings" are mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in his description of the cities of Thrace.^{16b} A large Derwish Tekke and türbe for Nefes Baba on a hill near Ferae,^{16c} five small hans in Kinekli on the road between Tekirdağ and Silivri, on the Sea of Marmara, and a large han and a hamam in Ferae. Of these buildings only the hamam in Ferae remains standing, be it in ruinous state. The last buildings of Ahmad Pasha in Thrace, as mentioned by Evliya are a fine lead-covered mosque with a portico with marble columns in front of it, a medresse (college) a mekteb (primary school) and a large caravanseray, all in the little town of Yenice Karasu, south-east of Xanthi and only 35 km from Komotini. According to Evliya the caravanseray was built in H. 1020 = 1611/12.^{16d} Other works of Ekmekcioğlu are to be found in the literature. He added an imaret, two schools, 40 derwish cells, a fountain and a minaret to the "head monastery" of the Halvetiye derwishes at Koca Mustafa in Istanbul.^{16e} Another Derwish Tekke, built for Murteza Çelebi at Sazlı Dere near Edirne is mentioned by Gökbilgin.^{16f} Most of the buildings in Istanbul still remain to be seen whereas the Tekke of Sazlı Dere has disappeared completely, as we could see during our visit of this place in 1971. Older villagers still remembered the place where it once stood.

16a. Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire, 1591-1659*, translated by Charles Fraser, London, Royal Asiatic Translation Fund - 1832-1836 p. 464.

16b. By Kissling, Beiträge (note 13).

16c. That Ekmekcioğlu was the founder of the Nefes Baba Tekke is also mentioned by Abdurrahman Hibri Efendi of Edirne, who visited this place in 1628. (See: "Tayyib Gökbilgin, Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler," p. 100, in: *Edirne'nin 600 Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara 1965. Hibri was a historian of renown, he was kadi of Serres for some years and was buried there in the now destroyed graveyard of Hisarardı, "Behind the castle."

16d. While visiting this place, now called Genisea in 1971 I found that all the buildings had disappeared. The inscription of the han, a beautifully calligraphed work, remains preserved in the mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Yenice. Its date is indeed 1020 H. 1611/12. So Evliya was correct. Both the mosque and the inscription shall be published on another occasion.

16e. See: H.J. Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte der Chalwetijje Ordens," in: *Zeitschr. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1953, pp. 233-289.

16f. See: Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında* (see note 16c) p. 101. Characteristic for all the works of Ekmekcioğlu Ahmad is the high quality of them. It seems that the founder always took the best artists and craftsmen of his time in his service, being it poets, calligraphers, painters, stone carvers or else. This is one more argument to attribute the mosque of Komotini to this man for hardly anyone else could pay or obtain such a costly tile decoration as that of Komotini. For the information on Edirne I am highly indebted to Drs. F. Th. Dijkema, who prepares a monograph on the interesting epigraphy of Edirne, which is scheduled to appear in 1972.

All these buildings, as listed in the above, were built in Thrace between 1600 and 1618 by Ahmad Pasha. They surround Komotini on every side. It is therefore almost certain that we have to attribute the remarkable mosque of Komotini to this man. It must have been constructed between the above-mentioned years, together with the other works, as part and parcel of the activities of this generous man to spread the culture of Islam along the old Via Egnatia.

The last building in Komotini we would like to discuss here is the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos. It is situated in the very centre of the city between blocks of shops, very near the Eski Cami. The name of the founder of this building immediately brings us back to the earliest period of Turkish rule in the Balkans and tells us that we are here confronted with one of the oldest existing Turkish monuments in Europe! It must have been built shortly after Komotini became Turkish or rather after the battle of Cirmen had consolidated their positions. It is known that almost immediately after Serres had become Turkish, the leader of the conquest, Grand Vezir Halil Candarli, had a mosque built there. Serres capitulated after a long siege¹⁷ and saved itself thereby from plunder and confiscation of churches. What exactly happened during the conquest of Komotini I do not know, but judging by the fact that Belon,¹⁸ nearly a hundred and fifty years after the conquest, still found many Greeks living within the castle who were still in possession of a church, and taking notice of the fact that all Turkish buildings are outside the old walled city, as the Turkish settlement grew mainly on the east side of it, we may well conclude that the conquest did not alter basically the existing conditions. We saw that at least one church was transformed into a mosque, the Eski Cami, the oldest of the city. Other buildings for the Islamic way of life had to be built by the conquerors themselves. Komotini was seat of the Udj (march) of Ghazi Evrenos from 1362 till 1383, when the seat was transferred to Serres^{18a} and to Yenice Vardar shortly after-

17. See note 9 (Ostrogorski).

18. See note 3 (Belon, Observations).

18a. *Chronicle of Ashikpashazade*, translated by R. Kreutel, "Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte," Graz 1959, p. 92, "Evrenos had made Gümülcine his march and had settled there." J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches I*, Pest 1827, pp. 166-167, when writing about the conquest of Komotini mentions that Ghazi Evrenos was not only a conqueror but left his name as founder of richly bestowed kitchens for the poor (imaret) and karavanserays in this and other places.

There is no doubt that he and not one of his sons was the founder. This is handed down in the local tradition as preserved among the Turkish inhabitants of the city. The same tradition was written down by 17th century Turkish geographers and travelers as Hadschi Chalfa (Katib Çelebi) and Evliya Çelebi.

wards, which place was destined to become the family seat of the Evrenos clan for the centuries to come. It is known that in Serres at least three buildings for the Islamic religion were erected within the first five years after the Turkish conquest of that place (see further on in this article). It would appear the most logic that Evrenos erected a building so important as an imaret in his residence not too long after the conquest of the city and after the Turkish positions in Thrace were sure. That would mean about 1375-1385, but not much later. The building which survived, the Imaret, had more than one function. It was a refuge and meeting place for the members of the Islamic brotherhoods who formed the backbone of the Islamic society in newly conquered territories, it served as mosque and as kitchen where food was distributed to the poor of all creeds. Unfortunately it does not serve its ancient purpose today and is not even an ordinary mosque. For many years it has served as electric power station of the city and for that purpose it was enlarged by addition of ugly-looking machinery halls. A short time ago it was put out of action. It is recognised as a historical monument now and is protected by law.

The building is a typical example of an Ottoman building of the earliest period. It can be grouped in the category of early T-plan mosques¹⁹ but is of a plan and set-up of which there are no other examples. The building, which is neglected but nevertheless in a good state of preservation, consists of three different units. The main central room is 10.74m. long and 7.44m. wide and is covered by a dome and a barrel vault over the remaining part, which is slightly narrower and doubtless served as sanctuary or prayer-room proper. On both sides of the central hall there are square, domed rooms of smaller dimensions which are connected to the main body by gates. These side-rooms, which are the main feature of the T-plan, are slightly lower than the dome over the central section. On the street side the barrel vault is finished with a tympanon gable. The intersection between the domes and the square rooms is obtained by means

19. Regarding this interesting group of buildings there exists a varied literature. See, for example, Semavi Eyice, "La Zaviye et la mosquée à Zaviye," (*Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler*) in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 21, Istanbul 1961, pp. 1-79. Aptullah Kuran, "Basic space and form concept in early Ottoman mosque architecture," in: *Atti del secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca*, Venezia 1963, pp. 181-187. Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman architecture*, Chicago 1968. Robert Anhegger, "Zur Frage der T-Planmoscheen," in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Band 17, 1967, Tübingen 1969, pp. 324-330, and further literature given in these works.

For the developments of Early Ottoman mosque architecture in general, see: Aptullah Kuran, "İlk devir osmanlı mimarisinde cami," *Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayın I*, Ankara 1964, and Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* etc.

of a kind of pendentives, formed from the so-called Turkish triangles. This way of intersection is characteristic of Turkish architecture as a whole and is not found outside it. The front of the building measures 24.20 m. That is wide enough for a portico of five domed units, as these galleries vary normally between 23 and 30 m. in width. Every trace of it disappeared when the Imaret was made into power station. The portico on the groundplan is a hypothetic reconstruction. Several workmen still remembered one or more domes in front of the remainder of the Imaret, but were not sure about their shape. The original form can only be reconstructed with certainty if the present concrete and iron additions are removed and thorough investigations are made. No trace of a minaret could be found but this is normal for a building of this kind.

A second possible form of outer portico might be one of three or five units, covered by domes or flat cross-vaults. This solution is found in two other works of Early Ottoman architecture, in the great Nilufer Imaret of Iznik (Nicaea), built in 1387 by sultan Murad I and the likewise 14th century Imaret of Geyve, also in North-Western Anatolia. The groundplan of the little-known Imaret of Geyve is close to that of Komotini. Even stronger is the similarity between it and the Yakub Çelebi Imaretin Iznik, built shortly before 1389, the year in which the founder died. After it comes the mosque of Ghazi Mihal near the bridge of the same name, over the Tunca in Edirne, built in 1422. This building, however, is architectonically far more developed, only its groundplan, with the typical Eyvan over the prayer area, an archaic feature for the time in which it was built, reminds us of Komotini.

As to the origins of the Early Ottoman T-plan mosques, I put some remarks in my "Notes on some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki" in the preceding issue of *Balkan Studies* 11, 1 Thessaloniki 1970 (pp. 135-136); many more details are given by Eyice, Anhegger, Erdmann and Kuran.²⁰ It remains clearly recognizable that the Imaret of Evrenos is one of the most original creations of this interesting type of architecture. Its simple outlines, heavy proportions and the primitive "cloisonné work" of the walls doubtless place it in the period of formation of Early Ottoman architecture,²¹ a period which culminated in the magnificent Green Mosque of Bursa dating from 1420. At the same time it is the oldest Ottoman building preserved in Europe as already stated. The oldest mosques of Adrianople are those of Yıldırım Bayazid from 1398

20. See preceding note.

21. Judging on my materials about this building the Turkish specialist Mrs. Mualla Eyuboglu, for many years chief restorer of the Topkapi Saray Palace at Istanbul, likewise placed it in the last quarter of the 14th century.

and the Eski Cami, begun after 1402. The oldest mosque of Bulgaria is the imposing Hamza Bey Cami in Stara Zagora dating from the year 1409. The Eski Cami of Serres, the work of the first Ottoman Grand Vezir Kara Halil Candarlı from the year 1385, was demolished after the First World War. The mosque of the same person in Gallipoli was rebuilt from its foundations in the last century, as was the mosque of Ghazi Süleiman Pasha in Malkara. In the same Gallipoli there remains an old Turbe, or mausoleum, now called Mansur Hallac Turbesi after the great mystic of the 10th century of that name, who was crucified in Baghdad. It is an undated monument which might go back to the last decades of the 14th century.

With this short list the number of Ottoman buildings of the 14th century in Europe is exhausted, which means that the Imaret of Komotini holds the first place in order of seniority. For this reason and because of its extraordinary value in the chain of development of Early Ottoman Architecture, this building deserves a better fate.

SERRES.

The problem of restoration presents itself immediately when we consider the three great and important mosques which are preserved in this old Macedonian city. Whilst the monuments of Komotini escaped the attention of the scholars as by an incomprehensible marvel, something has been written about the Turkish monuments of Serres. We have the works of Orlandos and Anhegger about them. Orlandos²² wrote long ago about the restoration of the great Bedesten, or covered market, on the main square of that city, while Anhegger²³ wrote a hurried description of the three mosques without being able to give the plans of them or information about their founders. He also left some interesting details out of discussion and even made some minor mistakes in describing the buildings. This remains almost inescapable if we bear in mind the short time he had at his disposal and the difficult conditions under which he had to work.

Much better is our information about the byzantine and other mediaeval monuments of the city through the works of Orlandos and Xyngopoulos,²⁴

22. A. Orlandos, "Ergasiai Anastyloseos Mesaionikon Mnimeion," in: *Archeion Byzantion Mnimeion tis Ellados*, tomos E, 1939-40, pp. 206-211.

23. Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte" III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17, 1967, pp. 312-324.

24. Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Erevnai eis ta Byzantina Mnimeia ton Serron*, Thessaloniki

but also of Soloviev,²⁵ Deroko²⁶ and the Bulgarian Stefan Bobčev.²⁷ This might only be a reflection of the importance of Serres in the middle ages, when it either served as a byzantine or bulgarian frontier fortress and even witnessed the period of several decades of being a serbian princely residence.²⁸ The name of the serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan (Stefanu Vasileos) still remains written in a brick inscription on the Orestes tower of the old castle.

It is a pity that not so much attention has been paid to the monuments of the period following. If this had been the case the present article would not have been necessary.

Serres was conquered by the Turks under Ghazi Evrenos and Kara Halil Candarlı on the 19th September of the year 1383²⁹ and remained uninterruptedly in their hands until 1912, when it was conquered by the Bulgarians in the First Balkan War. In the spring of 1913 it was taken by the Greek army, and remained Greek after that date, with two interruptions during the two World Wars.

Serres must have been a sizable town in the 14th century, with several thousand inhabitants. From the outset the Turks intended to make it a Moslem centre of importance, maybe because of its strategic position and economic value, commanding a rich agricultural district. In the neighbourhood they settled important groups of Turkish nomads, who were akin to the conqueror, Evrenos Bey, to whose care the wide surroundings were entrusted. They also settled Turkish farmers³⁰ in the plain of Serres, who brought irrigation and rice culture with them. It appears that the oldest part of the Turkish population of Serres came from central and eastern Anatolia. In a document of 1388,³¹

1965. A. Orlandos, "I Mitropolis ton Serron," in: *Archeion Byz. Mnim. tis Ellados*, tomos 5, 1939-1940.

25. Aleksandar Soloviev cited by Xyngopoulos p. 15.

26. Aleksandar Deroko, "Neki spomenici iz Srpskog vremena u Serezu i okolini." in: *Spomenik Srbska Akademia Nauka CVI, odeljenje Društvenih Nauka N.S.* 8, Beograd 1956, p. 61 vv.

27. Stefan Bobčev, "Dva Starinni Čärkvi vâ okolnostta na Grad Ser," in: *Izvestija na Balg. Arheol. Institut.* VII, Sofia 1919-1920, pp. 38-57.

28. For this period see in detail: G. Ostrogorski, "Srpska Oblast posle Dušanove smrti," *Posebna Izdanja Vizantinološkog Instituta LX*, Beograd 1965.

29. See note 9 (Ostrogorski, La prise de Serres).

30. For the entire problem of Turkish colonisation of the Balkans see Barkan's fundamental study, mentioned in note 3 (Barkan, Les Deportations comme méthode, etc.).

31. Published by Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livasi, Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar.* Istanbul 1952, pp. 221-225 (second part).

which, as far as I can see, is the oldest Turkish document concerning this city, mention is made of the foundation of a Zaviye, or dervish convent, by Bahâeddin Pasha, the son of Sheih Hizir, of Tokat. As witnesses to this deed of foundation (10 shops and 7 houses, beside some gardens outside the city were donated to it) several persons are mentioned, inhabitants of Serres, who nearly all came from that part of Anatolia. So we find Hadji Ivaş bin (son of) Hadji Iliyas, of Amasia, Hadji Ivaş bin Hadji Selim of Amasia, Usta Hadji of Kirşehir, the secretary Ahmad bin Mehmed of Iznik and several other persons from Kaiseri, Niksar and Ankara. We also find the name of a certain Hasan bin Ishak, who was Imam (pastor) of the medjid (small mosque in which no Friday prayers were said) of Subaşı Özbek. Besides valuable information about the origin of at least a part of the Turkish population of Serres, this document gives the names of two religious foundations in the very first years of Turkish rule. From other sources we know that the Grand Vezir Kara Halil Candarlı had a Friday mosque built there, or rather finished it only two years after the conquest. This was the Eski Cami. Its history is given by Taeschner and Wittek more than thirty years ago.³² The content of its inscription remains preserved in the works of Evliya Çelebi,³³ it is dated H. 787 (begins 12th February 1385) and mentions the name of the Vezir, "the one who needs his Creator, Halil bin Ali al Candarlı. The founder should stand soon enough before his Creator." Hayreddin Candarlı Kara Halil, the first Grand Vezir of the young Ottoman state, died in Serres only two years after the completion of his mosque there. His body was brought to the residence of his family, Iznik (Nicaea) where it was buried in a simple mausoleum outside the Lefke Gate. "Hayreddin Pasha in the year 789, in the city of Serres, travelled from the world of transitoriness to the world of constancy" is written on his gravestone, which still stands in its original place. He was the founder of a family which, until the end of the 16th century, held an important place in the administration and government of the Empire, as Grand Vezir, (three generations in succession) as Beylerbey of East Anatolia or Syria, or as Defterdar, Kadi or Nisanci (chief secretary) of a important province. The family still exists today and retains the memories of its great past.³⁴

The mosque of Kara Halil, the Eski Cami, was destroyed in the great fire of 1719 and the original inscription disappeared during its reconstruction. It

32. F. Taeschner und P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlizade (14e und 15e Jahrh.) und ihre Denkmäler," in: *Der Islam* XVIII, 1928, pp. 60-115.

33. For further details see the above-mentioned study of Taeschner and Wittek.

34. *Idem.*

was damaged by fire for a second time in 1836 and restored at the order of Sultan Mahmud II. Papageorgiou³⁵ mentions that the mosque was situated outside the old fortified city, to the south-west of it. The venerable Old Mosque remained intact until after the First World War, when it was demolished.³⁶

At the end of the 15th century Serres was the residence of an Ottoman princess, Selçuk Hatun, a daughter of Bayazid II. She was first married to the Sandjak Bey Ferhad, a native of Trebinje in Hercegovina, by whom she had a son called Husref. This man later became the famous Governor Ghazi Husref Bey of Bosnia, who resided in Sarajevo between 1521 and 1541 and laid the foundations of the great expansion of that city by the erection of a large number of buildings and institutions for Islamic life and popular benefit. Husref Bey was born in Serres. To the memory of his mother Selçuk he built the great Selçukiya Medresse of Sarajevo, which still stands today. After the premature death of Ferhat Bey, Princess Selçuk married the son of the (Grand) Vezir Ahmad Pasha,³⁷ Mehmed Bey. This Mehmed Bey is the founder of the magnificent mosque in Serres which, in spite of half a century of neglect, remains preserved there. Selçuk Hatun herself also founded several buildings for common use in Serres. In a Vakıfnâme of the year 914 H.³⁸ (beginning 26th Oct. 1508) she donated the revenue of several villages in the environs of Serres and Zihne to her foundations. These foundations consisted of a large Medresse, or institution for higher learning, a dervish Zaviye, a guest-house (Tabhane) and a medjid. Provision was made for daily payment of the personnel of these institutions, for their food and for pocket money for the students of the college. Twenty-two years later, in 1530, the daughter of Selçuk and Mehmed Bey, Neslişah Sultan, in cooperation with her half-brother Ghazi Husref Bey of Sarajevo, added several other assets to the foundation donated by their mother.³⁹

Or all the buildings of Selçuk Hatun nothing remains. They have all vanished in course of time as did the Medresse, Mekteb and bridge of her husband Mehmed Bey. As this couple seems to have been the greatest founders of Serres, we may attribute two other buildings to them. They are the remains

35. In his article on Serres in *Byzant. Zeitschr.* III, 1894, pp. 292-294.

36. This need not surprise us, as at the same time a valuable large church of the 11th century was needlessly demolished. (See the work of Xyngopoulos, mentioned in note 24).

37. Must have been Gedik Ahmad Pasha, or else Dukagin Ahmad P. The first seems the most likely as he was grand Vezier for some years. Dukagin Ahmad appears to have been too young to have a grown up son in 1492.

38. Published by Tayyib Gökbilgin (see note 31) pp. 185-193.

39. Gökbilgin, in the appendix of the same document.

of a hamam near the mosque of Mehmed Bey in the eastern part of the city (see photograph of it in this article) and the great bedesten on the central square of Serres, which latter, after the restoration of Orlandos, remains in a perfect state of preservation. As I do not know the Vakıf-nâme of Mehmed Bey's foundations this cannot be stated with certainty but remains the most logical assumption. The architectural form of the Bedesten belongs to the late 15th century. To attribute it to the founder of the Zincirli Cami, the other great Turkish building of Serres, would be wrong, as this monument certainly belongs to the last part of the 16th century.

Thanks to the activity of the above-mentioned and other persons, Serres had by the beginning of the 16th century grown into a respectable city with a predominant Moslem outlook and population. It had spread far over the narrow boundaries of the ancient walled city and was extending mainly in western direction. The old city occupied a territory of 500-550m. in the 17th century it spread for five kilometres along the foot of the mountains. At that time it was surrounded by beautiful gardens and was well known for its textile industry, the manufacture of bathing wraps and towels which were even exported to Arabia and Persia. Serres counted dozens of mosques, covered markets, beautiful caravanserays and no less than eight hamams. To the south of the city there were extensive irrigated rice-fields.⁴⁰

For the time shortly after Selçuk Hatun resided in Serres, the beginning of the 16th century, we have reliable information about the number of the two different groups of the population, the Moslem and the Christian communities of the city. According to the Ottoman censuses^{40a} taken between 1520 and 1530, the city had a Moslem community of 671 families. The Christian community counted 357 families and the Jewish 65 families. With the Government officials and their families and retinue and the military men, this makes a total population of 6,000 inhabitants. That is a considerable number for that time in South-Eastern Europe. In the surrounding plain of Serres there also lived an important group of Moslems, but they were not in the majority, as in the city. For the region between Serres, Zihne and Sidero-Kastro, but not counting the inhabitants of these towns, we find 6,000 Christian families as against 2,250 Moslem families. That means 28% Moslems and 72% Christians.⁴¹

40. See Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, translated by Joseph von Hammer, Wien 1812.

40a. See Ömer Lütüf Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles," in: *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient*, I Leiden 1958, pp. 9-36.

41. Sidero-Kastro counted about 250 Christian and 250 Moslem families, Zihne 500 Chris-

Up to the second half of the last century Serres remained a prosperous city living on an important trade in iron, cotton and the famous Saffian leather. Every year caravans brought 30,000 bales of its cotton to Austria and Germany and took cloth and other industrial products as return freight. This overland trade in cloth even exceeded the French importation via Thessaloniki. After the opening of the Suez Canal Thessaloniki became a chain in world trade. Cheap Indian cotton and English iron conquered the market and took Serres' main trading articles out of their hands. The national awakening and the abandonment of the Çiftlik villages diminished the cotton production considerably. The free farmers could not compete with the cheap imported cotton and changed their production to more profitable crops. As a result the great cotton market of Serres of the olden days became a thing of the past.⁴²

The long centuries of Turkish rule over Serres came to a violent end with the devastations of the two Balkan Wars. The Bulgarian Army, unable to keep the city in their hands, bombarded it on fire before retreating for the advancing Greeks. After World War I a large-scale rebuilding campaign set in, which was carried out ruthlessly, ancient historical mosques and churches alike being demolished.⁴³ In this way Serres became a city with only a very few historical monuments of its rich past, monuments which we can count on our fingers. The ruins of the castle, two Byzantine churches, the Bedesten, a ruin of a Hamam and three large and important mosques. It is to these three last-mentioned buildings, unfortunately all in a bad state of preservation, that we will now turn our attention.

The largest and at the same time the oldest of the three mosques of Serres is that of Mehmed Bey, husband of Princess Selçuk Hatun, which mosque was built in the year 898 H. = 1492 - 1493 A.D. (beginning 23rd Oct. 1492). It is one of the largest Turkish buildings on the Balkans, outside the old Ottoman capital cities of Adrianople (Edirne) and Istanbul and measures about 30 - 31 metres. It consists of a spacious prayer-hall, covered by one large dome of 14.58m.

tian and 100 Moslem families. The total percentage of Moslem inhabitants of the district, including the towns, was 31%. (Based on Barkan's map in *Déportation comme méthode*, etc).

42. See for this subject: L. Schultze - *Jena, Makedonien - Landschafts - und Kulturbilder*, Jena 1927 (pp. 195 et seq.).

43. Besides the above-mentioned churches and mosques, the Turbe (mausoleum) of Sheih Bedreddin, from 1416-1417, was demolished. The German scholar F. Babinger, who studied the life of this famous man, saw the Turbe in good condition several years after the First World War.

diameter, which is flanked on both sides by low side-rooms each covered by two small domes. The mihrab of the mosque is situated in a special kind of apse, which protrudes several metres outside the rear wall of the building. ^{43a} On the front side there is a wide and spacious gallery of five units. Four of them are covered by flat cross-vaults, whilst the central one was slightly elevated and covered with a dome to emphasize the entrance of the building, which is situated in the middle, underneath this dome. The entire roofing was lead-covered. The mosque is built of large blocks of yellow-ochre stone, cut and laid in a manner showing the utmost mastery. On the inside the walls are made of rough-cut blocks; the arches and vaults are of brick, as is often the case in Ottoman architecture. In the interior the building was entirely plastered over. Of this plaster-work, with scanty remains of an ornamental painting, only a small part remains, the rest having fallen away. The columns and capitals of the gallery are all of spotless white marble, adorned with stalactite motives cut with great grace and elegance. Over the entrance an inscription, cut in a large marble slab with gilded letters, mentions the name of the founder and the date of its construction. It has been published twice ⁴⁴ but never with the transliteration and a picture of the original. It is written in Arabic poetry and reads as follows:

- (1) Jāmi' hādhā Mehmed Bey banā
Hasbatan li-Llāh dār as-sājīdīn
 - (2) Ibn Ahmed Pasha sultān al-ghuzāt
Asaf al-Islām nasr al-'ābidīn
 - (3) Qul li-khatmī mulhaman ta'rikhuhu
Jāmi' al-abrār dār al-hāmidīn
- (1) This mosque has been built by Mehmed Bey
Out of trust to God, a house for those who pray,
 - (2) Son of Ahmad Pasha, the sultan of the *ghazis*,
The Asaph of Islam, the help of the worshippers.
 - (3) Speak at the completion with inspiration: its chronogram is:
The mosque of the pious, the house of the glorifiers. ^{44a}

The mosque of Mehmed Bey is an interesting offshoot of the well-known T-plan or Zaviye-Mosque, one of the earliest examples is the Evrenos Imaret

43a. On the plan of this mosque as given by Anhegger this "apse" is designed much too deep, probably due to unexact measurements.

44. By Papageorgiou and Anhegger, see notes 35 and 23.

44a. The chronogram gives the date 898 5 1492. The way in which Anhegger translates al-abrār is incorrect.

of Komotini. By the last quarter of the 15th century the development in Ottoman architecture went on at a much faster pace. Besides buildings which still continued the old idea of the Zaviye-Mosque, others were erected in a different style, to obtain greater unity of space. The function of mosque gained ascendancy over that of Zaviye, and corresponding with this development the room occupied by the mosque proper grew in size and importance. One type of the old T-plan paved the road for the classical Ottoman architecture of the 16th century, whilst the one to which the Mehmed Bey Mosque belongs followed a different trend. In this type an impressive prayer-hall with one large dome was built, a prayer-hall which was still flanked with lateral rooms with which it had no spatial relation and was connected with them only by gates. These small side-rooms still continued the old function they had in the Zaviye-Mosque.

At first glance the Mehmed Bey Mosque seems to be a replica of the mosque of Grand Vezir Davut Pasha in Istanbul from the year 1484. Both have almost the same ground plan with a large dome, a mihrab in the apse, side rooms and a portico of five units. On closer observation it becomes clear that the Mehmed Bey Mosque is far more developed than that of Davut Pasha. On the outside the side-rooms hardly enter into account. The large dome is much higher and shades off into the dodecagonal tambour and high square of the walls in a harmonious way. Because of the greater height of the domed square the five-sided apse fits better into the whole interior and exterior of the building. Furthermore, the outer portico is covered by four flat cross-vaults and one central dome instead of five domes as the Davut Pasha Mosque originally had.

Closely connected with the Mehmed Bey Mosque is the so-called Imaret Cami of Inecik in Turkish Thrace. It was built in 1498-1499 and is a further development of that of Mehmed Bey. Here again we find an impressively high prayer-hall, but flanked only by side-rooms with one dome and with the mihrab apse omitted. Here the side rooms are completely shut off from the prayer-hall and have gates only on the side of the portico and in the rear.⁴⁵

One of the last examples of this type of mosques is that of Piri Pasha in Silivri (Selymbria), likewise in European Turkey. It was built in 1530 and is a late development of the type to which the Mehmed Bey Mosque in Serres be-

45. This mosque had been a delapidated ruin for many years as result of the Balkan Wars. It is to be reconstructed in the coming years. For the problems of date of construction, its founder and its place in history of architecture see the fine study of Prof. Semavi Eyice of the Istanbul University: "Trakya'da Inecik'de bir Tabhâneli Câmî," in: *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* I, Istanbul 1970, pp. 171-196, with 28 illustrations.

longs. The building in Silivri has the mihrab placed in an apse, as in the older buildings, but it is treated in such a way as to obtain greater spatial unity, thus keeping pace with the contemporaneous developments of the architecture in the capital. In other respects it has the same features as the preceding buildings, a large domed prayer-hall, side-rooms with one dome and a portico with five domes.⁴⁶

Unfortunately the great Mehmed Bey Mosque of Serres is in a very bad state of disrepair. After the lead of the roof was stripped off all kinds of plants and even trees began to grow on the roof and thrust their roots deeply into the unprotected masonry. The mosque had been built on a low-laying garden district in the immediate vicinity of a small stream. Long ago the little dike, which kept the water out during the floods of spring, broke and masses of alluvial material was deposited in the former mosque-yard and in the building itself. After a lapse of years a layer of one and a half metres or more of mud and sand from the stream was borne into the mosque. A wild garden sprang up around the building, which stands now "knee-deep" in the ground! The humidity and roots of vegetation have done their destructive work. The entire building is full of dangerous cracks in both vaults and walls. When I first visited Serres, now five years ago, one of the capitals of the gallery was split and half of it had come down. This was caused by oxidation of the iron brace which ran through it. Everyone could foresee that the portico would collapse in the course of the next year or two, as one of its vital points of support was in danger. In 1967 the portico still remained standing, but when I returned in 1970 the dreaded disaster had occurred and more than half the gallery, together with the dome in its centre and the beautifully carved and gilded inscription on the outside bearing the Islamic credo, had completely collapsed.

This is still more grievous when we read in *Archaiologikon Deltion* of 1967 (No 22, B², p. 423) that a plan was made to study the three mosques of Serres and a proposal had been submitted to respect these buildings in the new ground plan of the city.

Fortunately the position with the other two mosques of Serres is not so bad. The Zincirli Cami is used as a store-room of Public Works of the city of Serres, whilst the Mustafa Bey Mosque on the western outskirts of the city serves at present as small timber-work shop. This Mustafa Bey Camii is the cond oldest of the three mosques. According to the well-preserved inscription it

46. This fine old monument has recently been restored together with its original painted interior of great beauty.

was built at the order of Mustafa Bey in the year 1519. The inscription is written in Arabic poetry and runs as follows:

- (1) Jalī al-qadr ya'nī Mustafā Bey
Banā li-Llāh binā lis-salāh
- (2) Munādin fihi hattā matla^f al-fajr
Yunādī bis-salāh wa-l-falāh
- (3) Wa-fi ta'rikhihi qāla l-mu'arrikh
Bada'a dār as-salāt wa-l-falāh

- (1) Of notorious rank, namely Mustafa Bey
Built for God a building for goodness.
- (2) In it the crier-to-prayer cries even at day-break
With goodness and happiness.
- (3) And the chronogramist made for it this chronogram:
The house of prayer and happiness has begun to exist. ^{46a}

In its present form the mosque is a rectangle of 17,75 by 13,62 metres. Its cubic prayer-hall is flanked by side rooms, both covered by two domes which are half the diameter of the central one. In this way a long rectangle is obtained in front of which a domed portico is situated. This is covered by four domes of equal size and height, instead of five which would be normal. ⁴⁷ The masonry of the mosque is of rather poor quality, made up from broken stone, mixed with boulders and bricks. It is doubtless the work of local, provincial masters. The entire building was plastered over on the outside to give the rough surface of the masonry a smooth finish.

The mosque is the product of two different construction periods. The first was a medium-sized suburb mosque, a tall cube of 9,10-9,10m. with a dome resting on an octagonal tambour. This part of the mosque shows the simple and stern proportions of the architecture of the late 15th century. It might well have been originally a medjid on the border of the city. As Serres was expanding fast, it became necessary to enlarge the building and make it a Cami, or Friday mosque. The inscription of 1519 has been replaced at an unknown date. During the conversion from mosque to timber-workshop the original façade and entrance was ruined to such an extent that it became impossible to

46a. The chronogram gives H. 925 (begins 3. 1. 1519). The way in which Anhegger reads verse two is partially incorrect.

47. Anhegger erroneously gives five domes and also did not notice the fact that the mosque is the product of two construction periods; unavoidable errors when we consider the short time he had at his disposal.

find its original place. During the enlargement from medjid to cami the former side-windows were enlarged and further served as passage between the old part and the new siderooms.

These were exactly half the size of the old building both covered by two small domes. In front of the thus widened prayer-hall a new portico of four domes on five marble columns was built. The reason why four domed units were taken instead of the usual and much more balanced and harmonious five domes was the narrowness of the front. There was simply not sufficient room for five domes, whilst for three the portico was too wide and the domes would have had to become too big for a well-proportioned portico.

By being enlarged into a multi-unit building the small medjid acquired a form approaching that of the well-known Üç Şerefeli Cami which Sultan Murad II had built between 1435 and 1445 in his capital Adrianople (Edirne). This great building, which paved the way for a fruitful further development in the later 15th century and especially in the 16th century, was influenced by works of Turkish architecture of the preceding period, the time of the Anatolian petty states of the Beyliks. We mean the splendid mosque of Isa Bey Aidinoğlu in Ephesus dating from 1375 and the Great Mosque of Saruhanoğlu Ishak Çelebi in Manisa from 1376.⁴⁸ A more simplified form of the sultan's mosque in Adrianople is the mosque of Güzelce Hasan Bey in Hayrabolu, Turkish Thrace, built in the last years of the 15th century.⁴⁹ This mosque long unknown and in a bad state, but fully restored in recent times, still has a domed courtyard, as in Adrianople. The next step in the evolution of this type into a simpler and more popular form is the Hatuniye Cami of Manisa, built at the order of Hüsnüşah Hatun, mother of Prince Şahinşah, in 1490.⁵⁰ This is the type to which the Mustafa Bey Mosque of Serres, in its definite form, belongs. The only difference is the portico, which in Manisa has five domes, and the better

48. For these buildings see: R. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in South - Western Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931, and K. Otto-Dorn, "Die Isa Bey Moschee in Ephesos," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950. For the entire problem of the relations and development of this type see the study of R. Anhegger, "Die Üç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne und die Ulu Cami in Manisa," in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8, 1958, pp. 40-51.

49. Aptullah Kuran in his fine work *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago Univ. Press 1969 dated this building in the early 15th century, preceding that of Murad II in Edirne (pp. 182-183). From a document of the last quarter of the century, published by Gök-bilgin (*Edirne ve Paşa Livasi* p. 416), it can be seen, however, that this important building belongs to the time of Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512).

50. For this buildings see: Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* etc. and R. Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Frühosmanische Baugeschichte," in: *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul 1950-55, pp. 301-347.

communication between the side rooms and the central space. Both are due to the fact that this mosque was built all at one time and was not, as in Serres, the result of an enlargement.

It remains difficult to identify the Mustafa Bey mentioned in the inscription of 1519 and to establish for which part of the mosque he is responsible. It appears to have been more or less a habit to omit the name of an earlier founder in the case a mosque was rebuilt or greatly enlarged by an important person. The well known Eski Cami of Adrianople was founded by the Ottoman Emir Süleiman after 1402, continued under Emir Musa and finished by their brother, sultan Mehmed I. However only the latter prince is mentioned in the inscription as builder of this important mosque. The Hamza Bey mosque of Thessaloniki was founded by Hafsa Khanım bint-i Hamza Bey in 1468 and largely rebuilt by Kapuçı Mehmed Bey in 1619, as I have demonstrated in my above mentioned article "Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki," *Balkan Studies* 11, 1 Thessaloniki, 1970. In this case also the last name is mentioned on the inscription which definitely states that Mehmed Bey was its builder (p. 134). More examples may be given. It seems logic therefore that the Mustafa Bey of Serres claimed the entire structure as his, after the important rebuilding and transformation carried out at his orders. If the later parts were added after 1519 there would certainly have been another inscription. A solution for this problem may be found while considering the identity of Mustafa Bey.

Evliya Çelebi called him Mustafa Pasha, as he similarly called the Mehmed Bey mosque Mehmed Pasha mosque. In both cases the inscription definitely mentions a Bey as founder. This may be accounted for a change of name in the popular speech, which preferred a Pasha as founder of their mosques rather than a Bey, who was much lower in rank. Other examples of this phenomenon are found in the Balkans. Of the multitude of Mustafa Bey's and Pasha's in the earlier history of the Ottoman empire the one who chronologically comes the nearest to the one in Serres is Davutpaşaoğlu Mustafa Bey, the son of the Grand Vezier Davut Pasha⁵¹ we mentioned while discussing the Mehmed Bey mosque

51. Koca Mustafa Pasha, Grand Vezier of Bayazid II, was executed in 1512, Çoban Mustafa Pasha was made Beylerbey in 1517 with the rank of Pasha. He is not mentioned in connection with Serres. Plak Mustafa was Admiral of the Ottoman fleet for the period of 14 years since H. 922 = 1516. Another Mustafa Pasha, who according to Eyice was called Kuzgunsuz Mustafa (Eyice, "Svilengrad'da Mustafa Pasha Köprüsü," *Belleten T. T. K.* 28, 1964, pp. 728-756) who was the founder of the splendid mosque in Skopje, bearing his name, died in 1518 as is written on the inscription on his türbe next to the mosque. A detailed study on the identity of these various Mustafa's was made by Gliša Elezović from which some of the above mentioned data. (G. Elezović, "Turski Spomenici," in: *Zbornik istočnjačkoj istoriji i književnosti*

of Serres. Davut Pasha, who according to Truhelka,⁵² was a Dalmatian by birth, from the family of Bogojević, had many contacts with Macedonia. He is the builder of the great hamam in Skopje, named after him, which now serves as Art Gallery. He also built the extensive covered market of Bitola which is still in use and, what is of greater importance, had his feudal possessions in the environs of Serres! These estates, including several villages, were acquired by his son Mustafa after his father's death, in H. 906 = 1560-1501.⁵³ Mustafa Bey's eventful life does not concern us further. He eventually attained the rank of Pasha but seems to have lost it at an unknown occasion. At a likewise unknown date, but before April 1516, he was Sandjak Bey of Kustendil and after that date Sandjak Bey of Bosnia and may be of Hercegovina after it.⁵⁴ Before his term in Kustendil, Mustafa was Sandjak Bey of Serres. He died, according to the Venetian Marino Sanudo, in 22 February 1519.⁵⁵ It appears the most logic to reconstruct his actions in Serres as follows. The first single-domed building was erected by him after he inherited his father's estates near Serres, or during his term as Sandjak Bey of that city. After this building proved to be too small he had it enlarged, at which occasion the old inscription was replaced by the present one. The year as given in the chronogram is H. 925, which runs between 3 January 1519 and 22 December 1519. Mustafa must have died shortly after his mosque was finished. The words "of notorious rank" in the first line of the inscription might be an allusion to his former dignity as Pasha. The discovery of the Vakıfnâme of this mosque may confirm our hypothesis but as long as this is not found no absolute certainty can be given. Mustafa Bey, son of Davut Pasha, is also known to have had an estate near Skopje, hence his name Skopljak Mustafa. During his term as Sandjak Bey of Hercegovina he built a fine stone bridge over the river Bregava near Počitelj⁵⁶ in 1518, which is preserved to our days. Another, and better, identification of the builder of the Mustafa Bey Camii of Serres can be given on the base of some Turkish documents, published or used by Tayyib Gökbilgin. According to these doc-

gradja, serija I knjiga 1, Beograd 1940 pp. 654-667).

A Mustafa Bey is mentioned in 1519 as lord of the Albanian Bihlište (see Gökbilgin "Kanuni Sultan Süleiman devri başlarında Rumili Eyaleti livaları etc." in: *Belleten T. T. K.* 20, No 78, 1956, note 42. He was the son of the Albanian nobleman Pavlo Kurtik.

52. Mentioned by Elezović p. 660.

53. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pasha Livası*, Istanbul 1952, p. 143-144.

54. Details by Elezović, p. 660. See also Hazim Šabanović, *Evlja Çelebija Putopis*, Sarajevo 1957, II, p. 235.

55. Elezović, *Turske Spomenici*, p. 660.

56. Šabanović, *Putopis*, p. 237. The author of these pages inspected the bridge in 1969.

uments Plak Mustafa Pasha owned the revenue of the town of Ipsala in a period between 1526 and 1528.⁵⁷ The same Plak Mustafa acquired after 1519 (H. 925) an estate near Ipsala which formerly belonged to Ismail Bey and his descendants, one of them, the lady Ayse Hatun sold it to Mustafa who made it to wakf property for the mosque and imaret he had built in Serres.⁵⁸ Mustafa was still Bey in 1519 and later rose to the rank of Pasha. This explains why Evliya Çelebi speaks about the mosque of Mustafa Pasha, and not Bey. To the mosque belonged a medresse, imaret, school and tekke, hence the name of the quarter of the city, "Mahalle-i Mustafa Pasha Tekkesi."⁵⁹ According to Shemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ül alem*, Plak Mustafa Pasha died in H. 940 (1533/34) and was buried in the Stambuler suburb Eyyüb, near the tomb of the saint Eyyüb-i Ansari.⁶⁰

In the townlet of Ipsala, now in European Turkey, a small but very fine domed mosque of Mustafa Pasha perpetuated the name of this important man. As to the two different parts of the mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Serres we might conclude that the enlarging was carried out under Plak Mustafa, to adapt the small mosque to form the dominant building of the newly founded complex.

The mosque of Mustafa Bey is in a mutilated state but has remained architecturally in fairly good condition. When it was transformed into a timber-workshop some of the windows and the openings between the three sections of the mosque were widened by simply breaking away the stone frames. A wider entrance was cut into the walls, but the old inscription was spared. If some consolidations and minor restorations were carried out the mosque could easily be used as coffee-house or otherwise, as it is situated almost next to the main road leading out of the city towards the the Bulgarian frontier post and to Thessaloniki.

The last of the great mosques of Serres we shall discuss is the so-called Zincirli Cami, or Mosque with the Chain. Unfortunately no trace of the in-

57. T. Gökbilgin, "Ajalet Rumelija", in: *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju*, XVI-XVII, 1966-1967, Sarajevo 1970, p. 314.

58. Gökbilgin, Ajalet Rumelija, p. 314, note 28, and Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pasa Livâsi, Vakıflar, Mülkler-Mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952, p. 198.

59. Evliya Celebi, cited by Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte" III, in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 17, 1967, p. 320, note 19.

60. Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, in *Zbornik za Istočnjačku istoriku i književnu gradju*, Kj. I, Beograd 1940, p. 666-667. According to the 16th century historian Pečevi, cited by Elezović, p. 666-667, Plak Mustafa was a Bosnian by birth.

scription remains, and nobody in the city remembered the name of the founder or any other name for the building. It will therefore be impossible to ascertain the personage who undertook the foundation of this monumental mosque.

The date of the building can only be found by comparison with other monuments of the same group.

The ground plan is rather complicated for a middle-sized Ottoman mosque (25m. long and 11,50m. wide). The prayer-hall proper, which measures 10,82m. square, is surrounded on three sides by two-story porticos covered by flat cross-vaults. The mihrab is situated in a separate rectangular compartment which, as a strange kind of apse, protrudes several metres outside the main body. The central dome rests on eight points, six of which are the columns of the inner portico, whilst the remaining two are the points at which the mihrab room meets the main room. The bay opposite the mihrab room and the two middle bays of the side porticos are made in approximately the same size as that of the mihrab room, their vaults being open to the main room, thus creating a cross-axial interior space. As the porticos are separated only by light pillars from the main room under the dome, the idea of spacial unity is created, which is highly characteristic of this building and renders it unique in Greece. In front of the mosque there is a spacious open portico of five units, covered by four rectangular flat cross-vaults and a much larger dome over the centre to emphasize the main entrance of the mosque. This portico is made of faultlessly cut and polished white marble and breathes the air of simple and stern monumentality, now so badly spoilt by recent ugly additions and its use as a timber-workshop. The main body of the mosque is made of carefully executed cloisonné work, with two bricks standing and two lying around large blocks of stone. The heavy octagonal tambour is again faced with neatly cut blocks of stone.

In contrast with the unusually heavy and even provincial forms and proportions of the exterior of this mosque, its interior is surprisingly light and harmonious. Indeed, this mosque has one of the most matured and refined interior spaces of all Ottoman monuments still standing in Greece. It doubtless belongs to a group of mosques having a dome on an octagonal base, as was found in the architecture of the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, in the last quarter of the 16th century.⁶¹ It is a work which belongs to the school of the great Mimar Sinan, or rather of one of his pupils. We mean the group of Stambuler mosques which began with the famous Rüstem Pasha Mosque of 1561 and

61. Anhegger thought it dated not later than the middle of the 16th century, being misled by the archaic exterior of the mosque (Anhegger p. 319, of his study mentioned on note 23).

continued with works such as the Azapkapi Mosque of 1577, the Mesih Pasha Mosque of 1585 and the Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Mosque of 1588 along with others of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶² In regard to plan and interior solution of space, the Zincirli Mosque of Serres may be placed between that of Azapkapi and Mesih Pasha, i.e. between 1577 and 1585. The rather archaic features on the outside of the mosque, the disharmony between the high galleries and the comparatively low dome, must be due to the provincial milieu in which the building arose and possibly to the inability of the architect to bring all elements into harmony with each other.

In spite of these slight shortcomings the Zincirli Cami remains a priceless work of architecture which certainly deserves a better fate than to be used as a factory and as a store. As this building is the best preserved of the three, a little cleaning and consolidation works would be sufficient to free it from its humble use, remove the modern additions and to provide a good cover for the roof to take the place of the removed lead-covering.

These monuments, when properly restored, will be another interest for visitors in Serres which possesses byzantine churches, the castle, and the monastery of Johannes Prodromos nearby, for they constitute a remarkable example of oriental art on the classical soil of Greece.

62. Plans and photographs of these buildings by C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopols*, Berlin 1912, 3 vols. A special study on this group of mosques is given by "Selçuk Batur, Osmanlı Camilerinde sekizgen ayak sisteminin gelişmesi üzerine," in: *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları I* Mimarlık Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1968, pp. 139-166.

POSTSCRIPT

A number of questions on the detailed dating of several buildings or on the identity of their founders have been solved in the twenty years since the appearance of this article. Some works of restoration and conservation have also been carried out, and should be mentioned here.

At p. 417: Kyriakidis' source on the foundation of Komotini as an early-Byzantine castle by the emperor Theodosius is very probably an inscription in brick which was once to be seen at the castle walls. This inscription is mentioned in the Ottoman Sâlnâme of the Edirne Vilayet of 1310 (1892/93), chapter Gümülcine Sancağı, section: Eser-i Atike.

At p. 421: For early-Ottoman statistical material on the population of Komotini, see the postscript to XIV.

At p. 436, n. 45: The Imaret Mosque of Inecik has been restored by the Directorate of Pious Foundations of the Turkish Republic. During this restoration all missing parts have been reconstructed.

At p. 437: In the 1980s the Mehmed Bey Mosque in Serres saw some maintenance work by the Greek Archeological Service, Kavalla. The two metres of mud inside were removed and some consolidation has been done to the great dome. Yet the overall situation of this most important mosque in all Greece is still miserable, and huge cracks in the dome may lead to its total collapse. The salvation of the monument needs large-scale action.

At p. 439, n. 49: The mosque of Güzelce Hasan Pasha in Hayrabolu still has its original inscription, situated above the main entrance. It gives the date of construction as H. 905 (= August 1499–July 1500). This is thus 55 years after the completion of the great Edirne mosque and definitely inspired by it, not the other way round, as Kuran wanted to have it.

At pp. 442–43: The founder of the Zincirli Mosque in Serres must have been the scholar, Kadi and poet, Kâtibzâde Zeyn ül-Abidin, who was active in the last decades of the 16th century. In his detailed description of the mosques of Serres (VIII, p. 130), Evliya Çelebi first describes the Eski Cami, the venerable foundation of Candarlı Kara Halil of 1385, after which he mentions a very artistically built and lead-covered mosque of Zeyni Kadi. In third place follows the great mosque of Mehmed Bey, with its medrese and imaret. After this detailed note he mentions the nine other Friday mosques of the city, buildings of lower order and architecturally of much less importance. The hierarchical description is characteristic of this author. The Mosque of Zeyni Kadi, in the second place, was evidently the second most important building of the town. The Zincirli Mosque we see today certainly ranks among the most important of the city, but one can argue that the Mehmed Bey Mosque may have preceded it. For Evliya this was definitely not the case, because Zincirli is far more sophisticated whereas Mehmed Bey represents an earlier stage of Ottoman Architecture, which by Evliya's time was regarded as old fashioned.

Zeyn ül-Abidin was the son of the secretary of Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha. He studied Islamic law and in 1585 became professor at the Kalenderhâne Mosque in Istanbul. The biographies of him at my disposal (Hammer, G.O.D. IV, p. 313, Osmanlı Müellifleri, II, p. 432) mention him as active as Kadi in Mekka, which was an exalted post. Professor Victor Ménage found him mentioned in a biography of poets, as Kadi of Serres; this was in the earlier part of his career. He wrote his poetry under the name of Zeyni, also the form used by Evliya Çelebi. Zeyn ül-Abidin died in Istanbul on Ramazan 1011 (1603). His mosque in Serres must be from the 1580s or 1590s, which fits excellently with the details of its architecture (hexagonal plan, late-Sinan school). The style and quality of the building are in accordance with the taste of such a highly sophisticated man as Zeyni Kadi. With a daily salary of 300, akçe, he certainly possessed the means to erect a building like this. Dendro-chronological research at this mosque has as yet yielded no definite date.

IV

YENICE VARDAR (VARDAR YENICESI-GIANNITSA)

*A forgotten Turkish cultural centre in Macedonia
of the 15th and 16th century*

The five centuries of Turkish rule over the Greek lands still belong to the least-known part of the stormy history of this corner of Europe. This is especially true for the cultural history of the former European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, a cultural history in which many Greek towns played such an important part. In this connection we only need to think of places like Serres, Larissa, Salonica or Trikala which produced such a pleiad of poets in the three great oriental languages,¹ and such a number of distinguished writers and historians of first rank.² Impressive monu-

¹ Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Caghatay Turkish had a short but brilliant development at the Timouride Court in Herat (now Afghanistan). It was the language used by great men like Mir Ali Şir Nevay, whose works deeply influenced the works of early Ottoman literature (Ahmad Pasha). It was also used for the memoirs of Grand Moghul Babur, Emperor of India at the beginning of the 16th century, but later fell into disuse. Like Azeri, it is difficult to call it an independent Turkish language, as the differences between them were less pronounced in that period, and every educated Turk could read the three of them without difficulty. At any rate for the middle ages, it would be safer to call them different shades of written Turkish. Azeri was given its most perfect form in the poetry of the 16th century writer Fuzuli of Baghdad, whose works are regarded as the summit of Turkish poetry.* Later, it likewise fell into disuse until its revival in Soviet Azerbajdzjan.

² Mehmed Abdulrahman, called Sjechzade, who was born in Serres, wrote a History of Egypt from oldest times up to the 17th century (Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927).

Abdulrahman Hibri, born in Adrianople, was for several years Kadi of Serres. He died there in 1676 and was buried in the beautiful graveyard of Hisar ardi, behind the Castle of Serres, which was wantonly destroyed after World War I. He wrote a 14-chapter History of his native Adrinople and a shorter work on the military campaign of Sultan Murad IV, which led to the conquest of Erivan and Baghdad. For information about him and his work see in detail: Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler*, in:

ments of Turkish architecture¹ in Serres, Trikala, Kavalla, Arta, in the far away Didymotichon or in Salonica still remind us of the long lasting Golden Age of the Islamic Empire on the classical soil of Greece.

It is not easy to find a place which was for centuries such an important focus of Turkish culture, but which in later ages sank back to obscurity as far as did Yenice Vardar. In these pages light shall be shed on certain persons, poets, mystics and noblemen who lived and worked in this place and spread its fame throughout the

Edirne'nin 600. fethi yıldönümü armağan kitabı, Ankara 1965, pages 77-117; for dates about his life, see page 83.

Ahmad Müneğğimbashi, Mevlevi, dervish and longtime Court Astronomer, was born in Salonica and died in Mecca, in 1703. He wrote in Arabic a History of Mohammedan Dynasties from their beginning up to 1672, which was translated into German by Eduard Sachau in 1923.

Mustafa called Selaniki, born in Salonica, worked during the major part of his life in important administrative functions in the central government. He died in Yeni Şehir Larisa in 1599 and was buried there. His very reliable and objective History of the Ottoman Empire covers the period between 1563-99 and is full of criticism and deep social concern. The work is preserved in several copies, was printed in Istanbul 1863, and Behrnauer gave a German translation of parts of it in: Zeitschrift Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft 15, Leipzig 1861.

¹ Short studies about most of these monuments are in existence.

About Trikala: Franz Babinger, *Moschee und Grabmal des Osman-Schah zu Trikala*, in: *Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon*, IV, Athens 1929, and a description of its architecture by A. Orlandos in the same *Praktika*. On the Faik Pasha Mosque of Arta: Semavi Eyice, *Yunanistan'da unutulmuş eski bir Türk eseri*, in: *Belgelerle Türk tarihi dergisi*, Istanbul 1968, no. 5 and A. Orlandos, *Arta*, in: *Archeion ton Byzantinon mnimeion tis Ellados* II 1936, no. 2.

On the Sultansmosque of Didymotichon: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Dime-toka'da Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Camii* in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* III, pages 13-17. On Salonica: Semavi Eyice, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari eserleri*, in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI 1954, Istanbul 1954, p. 157-182. Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte* III, in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen* Band 17, 1967, p. 312-317, and M. Kiel, *Notes on the History of Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki and Their Founders*, in: *Balkan Studies*, 11-1, Thessaloniki 1970, p. 123-156.

On Serres Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte* III, pp. 318-324. On the mosques of Serres and Komotini the writer of the present article has a study in course of preparation, which will afford more details than Anhegger was able to give and will be published in one of the next numbers of "Balkan Studies" (1972).

On Kavala and Komotini no literature worth mentioning seems to exist

vast dominions of the Empire, making it "the meeting-place of poets and well-spring of the accomplished" to use the words of the 16th century historian of literature Kinali-Zade.

Its founding is narrowly connected with the early conquest of the Balkans by the Turks. Their definite military establishment in that region was followed by a large-scale colonization by Turks from the overpopulated areas of Western Anatolia. A great mass of peasants settled in the undulating plains of Thrace and Macedonia which, after the wars and pestilences of the middle 14th century,¹ remained without hands to till its fertile soil. At the same time craftsmen of the old Selçuk towns of Asia Minor repopulated the old urban settlements or founded new ones while nomadic tribesmen, Yörüks, occupied the green highland meadows of the Rhodope Mountains and the hills and steppes between Serres and Salonica and the environments of Štip and Veles.²

The conquering Sultan Murad I³ distributed the newly-won land among his most distinguished captains, descendants of the old Turkish military nobility or famous champions, trained in the Ghazi warfare in Western Anatolia at the very beginning of the Ottoman state. These were Lala Şahin, the Mihaloğlu, Pasha Yiyit and Evrenos Bey,⁴ etc.

¹ The Byzantine civil wars between Andronicus I and II, the war between the houses of Palaeologus and Cantacuzenus, the Serbian invasion under Tsar Dushan and the Black Death.

² For the colonization of the Balkans by Turks from Asia Minor see in detail: Omer Lüfti Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, 11e année, no. 1-4. Ö.L. Barkan, *Kolonizatör Dervişler*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* II, Ankara 1942, with a mass of documents, and further; Münir Aktepe, *XIV ve XV Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler tarafından iskanına dair*, in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* X, 1951, in which study the writer stresses the Turkish character of the newcomers with a mass of documentary evidence. This is directed especially against Bulgarian historiography which still denies this fact.

³ 1362-1389.

⁴ The Mihaloğlu, descendants of the Greek Lord of Harmankaya in West Anatolia, resided in the Bulgarian Ihtiman, which they had founded not far from the medieval castle of Stiponje, and in Pleven.

All that remains of their large-scale building activity is the mosque of Ihtiman, a ruin of about 1420 which, however, is to be reconstructed by the Bulgarian Institute of the Protection of Ancient Monuments.

Gliza Elezović gives a genealogy of Pasha Yiyit and his descendants, the

Large portions of Southern Macedonia and parts of Western Thrace were given to the last-mentioned commander, Ghazi Evrenos Bey,¹ founder of the well-known family of Evrenosoğlu. In a document of that time, preserved up to the present and published by Gliza Elezović,² Murad bestowed the whole government and jurisdiction of these vast territories to this man, who ruled over it as a semi-independent vassal lord until his death in 1417.

Evrenos Bey chose as centre of his possessions the place located on the north-western edge of the plain of Kampania, between the waving rushes of Lake Giannitsa and the first fold of the Paikon mountains. This spot might have been selected for strategic reasons as it is situated in the centre of a region affording direct communication with nearly all other countries. As Evrenos Bey and his descendants remained important leaders of the Turkish vanguard (the much-feared *Akıncıs*, consisting solely of mounted troops), it was of prime importance for them to have extensive fields near by for collecting the army and feeding the horses. The founding of Yenice Vardar must have taken place between 1383, the year in which Serres fell,³ and 1385, when Kastoria, Vodena⁴ and Verria were taken. It appears that it was built on the site of an older settlement, as Yenice means in Turkish "rather new", but not entirely new as was Larissa—*Yeni Şehir* (New Town), which was completely refounded by the Turks. The second part of the name Vardar should be associated with the tribe of the Vardariotes rather than with the River Vardar, which is 23 km away from it. These Vardariotes were a Turkic tribe, which descended upon the Byzan-

family of Ishaković well-known in Yugoslave lands, in: *Zbornik za Istoč-njjacku Istorisku i Književnu Gradja*; Turski Spomenici, Knj. I Br. 1, 1348-1520, under no. 23. The grave of Pasha Yiyit is still preserved in Skopje; his Turbe was destroyed during the last war.

¹ He was the conqueror of Serres, Edessa (Vodena) and Kitros. See: Richard F. Kreutel, *Von Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte, der Chronik vom Aşik Paşazade*, Graz-Wien-Köln 1959, page 95.

² In the work of Elezović mentioned on p. 302, note 4.

³ See G. Ostrogorski, *La prise de Serres par les Turcs*, in *Byzantion* XXXV, 1965, p. 302-319.

⁴ Vodena is now called Edessa, which name was artificially brought to new life after having been more than a thousand years in disuse.

tine Empire in the early middle ages. They were converted to Christianity and settled by the Emperor in the plains and hills of Macedonia, west of Salonica.¹

Yenice Vardar was from its very beginning a Turkish city with craftsmen constituting the bulk of the population. A few thousand families of Turkish farmers² settled in the surrounding plain and formed the core of the dense Turkish population of later ages. The great mass of Turkish farmers who lived in the fertile districts between Lake Vegoritis and Kozani and the Sari Göl district until the 1920's of our time, must have colonized these regions at a later date,³ in the first half or middle of the 16th century.⁴ At least a century and a half after the conquest there remained a multitude of Christian villages in the plains, side by side with the Turkish ones. These villages were mainly inhabited by people who were Bulgarians by ethnic origin and language, as was (and still is) the nucleus of the Christian townfolk of Macedonia's north-western cities. Among them lived considerable groups of Vlachs, Rumanian-speaking semi-nomads who in the summer lived together with the Yörüks in the mountains and came down to the plains in the late autumn to spend the winter with their herds. The Greeks in these regions lived south of the line running between Kozani-Verria.⁵ Later on, mainly in the 17th century, these lowland vil-

¹ They preserved their language and a sort of national identity right into the 19th century. They first had their own bishopric, which was later absorbed by the diocese of Doiran. The Bishop of Doiran long bore the title of Bishop of the Vardariotes. Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Paris 1820, still mentions them.

² Their numbers can be counted without difficulty on the surveyable population map added to Barkan's study *Déportation comme méthode*, etc., cited on p. 302, note 2.

³ They were not there in about 1510-20, see also the map of Barkan.

⁴ Evliya Çelebi mentions many Turkish villages in these regions about the year 1660. In part V, pp. 575-580 of the printed edition of his enormous *Seyyahatnamesi*, of which Prof. S. Eyice of the Istanbul University was so kind to send me a transcription in modern Turkish about some cities in Greece, Evliya gives the names of 27 villages in the district near Lake Vegoritis inhabited by Turkish farmers, nearly all of whose names are Turkish, such as Karapınar, Devledhanlı, Kurtlar, Hasankoy Ishaklı, Menteşeli, etc., all indicating the founders of those villages. Three villages only had other names, Slavonic, indicating that they existed before the Turks came.

⁵ The toponymy of these regions gives reliable information on the ethnic

lages were converted to Islam and in some cases adopted the Turkish language of their neighbours, thus reinforcing the Turkish element. Compact masses of Bulgarians living in the immediate neighbourhood of Yenice Vardar, in the highly fertile basin of Moglena,¹ embraced Islam at an unknown date and became the Pomaks.²

Under the patronate of the Evrenos family Yenice Vardar developed slowly, but steadily as a centre of Turkish Islamic culture, surrounded by a fertile countryside inhabited by a fairly large Turkish population. The foundations of this cultural life were laid by the first conquerors themselves. Ghazi Evrenos and his son Isa Bey had many beneficial institutions built: mosques, schools, imarets³ and baths. It must be admitted, however, that until the middle of the 15th century the military character dominated the city life.⁴ Only with the emergence of Ahmad Bey Evrenosoğlu, in the second half of the century, when peaceful times came and the political role of the city was over, did Yenice Vardar change into a literary centre and an important place of craftsmanship. At that

composition of the Balkan Peninsular after the Turkish State had stopped the censuses. A detailed map is W. Liebenow, *Karte der europäischen Türkei*, Berlin 1862. The situation in Macedonia in the last part of the 19th century is given in the very accurate work of Gustav Weigand, *Die Aromunen*, Leipzig 1894, with a detailed population map in colour.

¹ The name means Land of Haze in Slavonic. It was one of the dioceses created by the Bulgar Tsar Samuel before the year 1000.

² A list of these Pomak villages was given by Adolf Struck, *Die Maked. Niederlande*, in: *Zur Kunde des Balkan-Halbinsels* 7, Sarajevo 1908.

³ Literally Imaret means "building", but in the Ottoman Empire it normally means a kitchen for the poor, where food was distributed twice a day to anyone regardless of rank or creed. This system, which operated on an enormous scale, softened the harsh conditions of life for the lower classes of society. It was part and parcel of the so-called Vakfssystem in which the profits from the rent of estates, shops, baths or market-halls were donated in perpetuity. The Vakf had a sacro-sanct character and the founding of it was regarded as a good work in the eyes of God.

⁴ They played an active part in the re-establishment of the Empire after the disastrous Battle of Ankara in 1402, took the side of the pretender to the Ottoman throne, the so-called False Mustafa, against the rightful Sultan Murad, but changed their attitude in due course. They also led the Ottoman forces in several campaigns to the unruly Southern Albania and stood in the field during the decisive battles of Varna (1444) and the second battle on the historic Kosovo Polje in 1448 against the united forces of the Crusaders.

time the whole territory of Greece was firmly in Turkish hands as was also the major part of Albania, and the northern frontier of the Empire touched upon the fringe of Hungary, 800 km away.

Ahmad Bey himself was, according to the virile tradition of his family, a great military commander, who served under the Sultans Mehmed Fatih and Bayazid II, but also had a great concern for the public welfare. In the last decades of the 15th century he founded a large mosque in Yenice Vardar, which was one of the greatest and most monumental religious buildings ever erected by the Turks in Europe. In a badly mutilated state, it remains standing even today. He also founded the famous college, one of the greatest centres of higher learning in Macedonia for many centuries to come, a large hot bath (Hamam) and a great lead-covered market hall (Bedesten),¹ the revenue of which was bestowed for the upkeep of his mosque and college.

Ahmad Bey had the long aquaduct built, which brought the fresh spring water of the Paikon mountains down to the town, several miles away.² There it was distributed over the many fountains on the street side, in the squares, in the yards of the mosques and the great hot baths which consumed enormous quantities of fresh water.³

¹ The Bedesten is a typical Ottoman creation. It is a large and massive stone hall covered with two rows of domes supported in the interior by massive, square pillars. On the outside it often was surrounded by shops with strong tunnel vaults. The building was covered with lead and formed the core of the market. The most valuable articles were kept there including the archives of the guilds. More about this interesting type of building is to be found in: Semavi Eyice, *Les Bedestens dans l'architecture turque*. Atti del Secondo Congresso Intern. di Arte Turca, Venezia 1963.

² Mentioned by Struck, (see p. 305, note 2) on pages 67-68.

³ This large consumption of water was a characteristic of all Turkish cities. As no water supplies on any scale existed in the Balkan lands, they had to be built wherever people settled permanently. Impressive aquaducts or remains of them can still be seen in Kavalla (a work of the grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha) Chalkis, Navarino, near Yugoslav Skopje and in Albanian Gjirokaster. The Ottoman waterworks are the result of a successful blending of old Central-Asian experience with the art of engineering, of classical Arab civilization and the works of the Selçuks of Asia Minor. Only after the conquest of Constantinople may some influence have been exerted by early Byzantine waterworks of the time of Justinian, which were rebuilt and restored on large scale by the Ottomans.

As most Western travellers left Yenice Vardar unvisited and these parts of the rich State Archives of the former Ottoman Empire relating to Greek Macedonia remained almost untouched, we are not so well informed as to the size and general outlook of the town in its high days. The only thing which can be said with certainty is that it never became a sizeable town and that it preserved its predominant Turkish character right into our age. By the census of 1520-1521 (H. 925) it consisted of 739 houses of Moslem families, 25 houses of Christians and 24 houses of Jewish families.¹ The great Turkish geographer Katib Çelebi describes it in about 1640 as a place with many mosques and baths and mentioned the pious foundations of Evrenos and Isa Bey.² A few decades later it was visited several times by the famous Turkish globe trotter Evliya Çelebi.³ He describes it as a fair place, consisting of 17 mosques, more than 700 shops and workshops (an indication of the importance of its craftsmen) and a massive stone Bedesten. The town had three large hot baths (Hamam), one of Ghazi Evrenos, one of Ahmad Bey and another. There were seven primary schools (mekteb) the famous College, a caravanserai⁴ and a multitude of fountains (çeşme and sebil). Of the mosques especially mentioned were those built by Ghazi Evrenos, Isa Bey, Ahmad Bey, all foundations of the same family, and those built by Receb Çelebi or the Badralı mosque. In the time of Evliya Yenice Vardar was

¹ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleiman devri başlarında Rumili Eyaleti livaları şehir ve Kasabaları*, Belleten Türk Tarihi Kurumu XX 1956, no. 78, pages 247-294, note 38.

² Rumili und Bosna, geographisch beschrieben von Abdullah b. Mustafa Hadschi Chalfa, Übers. von Joseph von Hammer, Vienna 1812.

³ The part concerning Central and Northern Greece of Evliya's great work is not translated into any language. The above-mentioned dates are from an extract, made for me, by Dr. Hayrullah Örs, Director of the former Imperial Palace, the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul, during my stay there in 1967.

⁴ Caravanserai means literally "palace for the caravans", and constituted one of the two types of buildings which were built for the convenience of travellers. The other was the Han, which had private rooms around an arched court-yard and offered more comfort than did the Caravanserai proper in which travellers slept in one large hall together with the animals. Caravanserai was always free of charge, the Han often. In many of those institutions food also was distributed, all costs being covered by the Vakfs.

a town of about 14,000 to 16,000 inhabitants. This writer also mentioned some names of famous men who were born or lived there, and remained some time at their graves to meditate on the vanity of earthly greatness. In his time the fame of the town was already a thing of the past, but it remains really strange that so many great men were born in such a small place.

The first to open the long line of brilliant men of letters was Scheich Abdullah el Ilahi.

This Ilahi was born in the western Anatolian town of Simav at the beginning of the 15th century. He spent his youth in his native town but, attracted by the fame of the Timouride capital Samarkand, then one of the most brilliant centres of learning of the entire Moslem East, he left Anatolia and settled for many years to come in that famous place. He must have had a great feeling for mystics at an early age, and this was to become the thing to which his life would be devoted. He chose as his master the well-known Sufi sheich Hodja Ubaidullah el Samarkandi. Under the guidance of the latter Ilahi was trained in the practices of the Naqsbendi dervishes, a mystical order of Islam, which was then in an early stage of development. The most remarkable feature of this order was its exercises to attain the state of purity of body and soul in a manner which strongly reminds us of the prana exercises of the Indian Yogi and indeed might be influenced by them. In spite of this strange feature the Naqsbendi always remained loyal to the path of Orthodox Islam and never caused trouble to religious or secular authorities as did so many dervish orders before or after.¹

It was natural, therefore, that Ilahi also received training to be a teacher at the Medresse, or religious college. When his training as both scholar and dervish was completed Ilahi left Samarkand and made for Istanbul, the city, which after the Turkish conquest in 1453, rapidly developed as a new centre of Islamic learning. He was

¹ The dervish orders caused much trouble and revolt in the Islamic world. We need only think of such dangerous risings as that of Scheich Bedreddin in 1416, the risings of the Shia adherents of Shah Ismael during the reign of Bayazid II or that of the Kalenders under Süleiman the Magnificent.

appointed there as professor of the college in which the learned Molla Zeirek had transformed the old Byzantine church of the Pantokrator Monastery. Beside his activity as professor of this Molla Zeirek Medresse, Ilahi was the ardent propagator of the Naqsbendi way of mystic devotion in the new Ottoman capital and with him begins the silsile, or spiritual chain, of the leaders of this Order in the Ottoman lands. Dates concerning this event are not known with certainty, but it should have taken place in the late sixties of the 15th century. In his work of propagating the Naqsbendi way Ilahi was strongly supported by Scheich¹Şemşeddin Buhari, a Persian by origin who was born in Buhara (Central Asia). He had come together with Ilahi from Samarkand and took over the role of head of the Order in Istanbul¹ after Ilahi had left for Rumili.²

Meanwhile the fame of Ilahi's profound knowledge and sanctity had spread far and wide over the Ottoman lands and even reached the ears of Emir Ahmad Evrenos. It was at the invitation of this powerful nobleman that Scheich Abdullah el Ilahi left the capital and changed his abode for the seat of the Evrenosoğlu in Yenice Vardar. There he became the figure around which centered the spiritual and cultural life of the Macedonian town during the next decades. Ahmad Bey built a special college for him, the already mentioned medresse, and made him the tutor of his children. At the same time he founded a retreat-house for the saintly men at a beautiful place on the edge of the plateau which surrounds the plain of Kampania, near a waterfall in the river Arabitsa. Shortly after its foundation there developed on the northern and eastern side of this so-called Tekke, the township of Niausta,³ which later

¹ Scheich Buhari spread the Naqsbendi way by preachings and writings in Istanbul and its wide surroundings. He was assisted by his followers Baba Ninetullah and Scheich Davut Modreni, both prosewriters.

Scheich Buhari's collected works, all written in Arabic, called *Reschati aini Hayat* "Drops from the Fountain of Life", were translated into Turkish in 1593 and even printed, in 1821 (654 pages), see J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Pesth 1836-1838, 4 vols, p. 211.

² Rumili, the Land of the Romans, Turkish name for the greatert part of the Balkans.

³ A. Struck, *Makedonische Niederlande*, pages 51-53.

on became an important place of 6000 inhabitants, for the most part Greek and Christian. The Sultan gave it the privileges of a free town which assured local independence and peaceful development.

While Scheich Buhari continued to spread the order in the central parts of the Empire, Ilahi did the same in the western provinces. The teachings and methods of the Naqsbendi appealed mainly to the tastes and intellectual level of the middle groups of Islamic society, the minor traders and craftsmen of the towns. It is not strange, therefore, that the order found the greatest mass of adherents in the quickly expanding urban settlements of Turkish Europe.¹ It might certainly be attributed to the great man in Yenice Vardar that separate communities were founded in the towns of Rumili, in Serres, Salonica, Verria, Trikala, Veles, Bitola, Skopje and Sofia. Scheich Abdullah el Ilahi died in 1491 and was buried in an impressive domed mausoleum, Turbe, which grew into the most venerated place of the order. His order continued to flourish in the Balkan Peninsular right into the 20th century.

At the same time that Ilahi started his work in Yenice Vardar another man of letters was born there, Usuli, poet and mystic. He spent a great part of his life in Egypt, in the circle of disciples of the well-known and popular mystic teacher Scheich Ibrahim Gülşeni. This Gülşeni came from the eastern Anatolian city of Diyarbekir, which place he had to leave because of his difficulties with the new Persian overlords, the Safavid Shah Ismael, who had the heterodox Shia teachings proclaimed as a state religion. He went to Cairo, which under the last Mamluks and first Ottoman rulers was still a great centre of Islamic learning. There he gathered in a short time an enormous host of adherents around him and became extremely popular. It was there that Usuli of Yenice Vardar became initiated into the new dervish order of the Gülşeni and remained in the Egyptian capital until the death of his master. After that time he returned to his native town in Macedonia and remained there for

¹ Regarding the vast development of Turkish cities, particularly in the 16th century, see: Omer Lütü Barkan, *Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* I, Leiden 1958.

the rest of his life, living in contemplation and extreme poverty until his death in 1538.

Usuli was a Sufi poet of reputation; all his poems are mystical, and his biographer Latifi compared his works with those of his great predecessor, the martyr Nesimi. Nesimi had met a terrible death in Halep because of his adherence to the secret and forbidden teachings of Fadl Allah Hurufi, the Godman, who lived in the last half of the 14th century and whose teachings spread, secretly, over large parts of the Islamic world, crept into many dervish orders and even found a willing ear in the Ottoman court in Adrianople.¹ Usuli is actually the writer of some Hurufi poems and it is quite possible that he was initiated into these secret practices during his long stay in Cairo. His role in spreading these ideas or in propagating the Gülşeni order calls for further study. A Divan² and Şeherengiz³ form his poetical heritage.

In the person of Usuli we find the link between the initial period beginning in the 15th century and the period of greatest prosperity of Yenice Vardar in the 16th century. Indeed, this epoch is the golden age of the little town. A long series of illustrious names passes through this space of time: Sidki, the poet-judge (Kadi); Deruni, one of the greatest arithmetical marvels of his age and a poet of renown; Gharibi, scientist, poet and dervish in the reign of Sultan Süleiman (his sister's son was also a poet, Sehani) or Selmani poet and dervish. They were all men born in Yenice Vardar. Selmani is the writer of an amusing verse, full of the joy of life, which could not be checked by the punishing hand of the moralist.

In the German translation of Von Hammer⁴ it runs as follows:

¹ Regarding the Hurufi see the penetrating study of Hellmut Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Hurufisekte*, in: *Oriens*, 7, Leiden 1954, pages 1-54.

² Collection of oriental poems grouped according to their kind, Kaside, Ghazel, Mesnevi, Rubay, etc.

³ The Şeherengiz or city-thriller was a half laudatory, half ridiculing poem on the most beautiful of the city. The man who invented this kind of poem, which was to become extremely popular, was Mesihi, born in the Serbian town of Pristina. Mesihi was one of the most original poets of the early period; he died in Istanbul in 1512. For further information about him and his work see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 5 vols, London 1903.

⁴ Von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanische Dichtkunst*, Pesh 1836-1838.

Frühling ist gekommen Nun ist's Lust und Liebeszeit
Lasset mich ihr Frommen Nun ist 's nicht zum beten Zeit.

The lines are ingeniously composed and can be read rhyming in no less than eight different ways.

Another writer and poet of Yenice Vardar was Agehi Mansur Çelebi. He lived as a judge in Istanbul, where he died in 1577, and was known for his work on the Szigetvar campaign of 1566, the last military expedition of Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent.

Two of the most remarkable figures of the 16th century, already so rich in gifted men, were undoubtedly the brothers Hayreti and Sinecak.¹ Hayreti was a very independent-thinking and working man. He was a well-known and much esteemed poet, especially for his masterpiece, the *Kaside*,² dedicated to the Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha.³

In a flowery love-poem he describes the purity of his chosen one:⁴

Deine Lippen hat geküsst Niemand als das Glas
Deinen Büsen hat umarmet Nur dess Bades Nass.

Hayreti died, blind and infirm, in Adrianople.

His brother Yusuf, better known as Sinecak, showed already at an early age a strong feeling for the mystical path of love towards the Creator of all mankind. Like his fellow-citizen Usuli, he went to Egypt and joined the brotherhood of Ibrahim Gülşeni. He remained for some time in Caïro, made his pilgrimage to Mecca and afterwards went on long journeys through Arabia and Persia, everywhere hunting for knowledge.⁵ After his return to the Ottoman Empire he was appointed head of the beautiful Tekke which Sultan Murad II had built in 1435 for the Mevlevi⁶ Brotherhood in Adrian-

¹ Sinecak is Persian for Bosom – Torn = Grieved.

² As the *Kaside*, or eulogy, is a much used and time-honoured form of poetry, it is very hard to achieve anything original in it.

³ Ibrahim was the son of a Greek fisherman from the Epirot town of Parga.

⁴ Translation Von Hammer.

⁵ In Islamic believes the search for knowledge was the Great Djihad or Holy War. The Little Holy War was with the Sword, as is well-known.

⁶ This was the order of Whirling Dervishes, founded by Djelaleddin Rumi, the greatest poet mystic and philosopher of Islam, who lived in Selçuk

ople. During his stay in the former Ottoman capital¹ a Vezir of Sultan Süleiman tried to dissolve a Pious Foundation (Vakf) in order to spend its revenue in a manner more suited to his own interests. Sinecak attacked him severely, saying that the dissolution of Vakfs was the work of the devil.² The Vezir was so furious that he decided to lay hold on his adversary by a surprise attack of the Tekke. Sinecak, warned by his friends, fled to the capital and sought and found justice at the court of Sultan Süleiman. The name of the Vezir is not given in the biographies of learned men and famous dervishes of Taşköprüzade, but we can easily imagine Grand Vezir Rüstem Pasha as being the man. This Rüstem Pasha, a native of Bosnia, was the Sultan's financial expert, but had a shocking character and was very unpopular.³ Shortly after this incident Sinecak was appointed Head of the Tekke of Sütlüce on the shore of the Bosphorus, somewhat outside the centre of the busy life of the Ottoman capital.

In a short time his fame spread over the capital and also reached the court. Sultan Süleiman himself, one of the most cultured men of his time and a poet of merit, was curious to know the teachings of his former protégé and went out to visit him, but on that very day Yusuf Sinecak had died in all peace and silence. When Süleiman

Anatolia in the 13th century. His works have been translated into a dozen of different languages. The Muradiye Mosque in Adrianople still exists and is known for its famous tiles decoration which even surpass those of Bursa.

¹ Adrianople or Edirne was the capital of the Ottoman Empire between 1361 and a few years after 1453. When Istanbul became the seat of the Imperial Government, Edirne continued to be the winter residence of the Sultans.

² As the Vakf system was the very foundation of social service of any kind, it was indeed dangerous to expropriate its goods or to dissolve them.

³ Rüstem Pasha expropriated the profits of the rich silver mines of Kratovo (North Macedonia) from Murad II's foundations in Edirne and put them in the State Treasury, which was under his control. Because of the ignominious part he played in the tragic death of Crown Prince Mustafa, he was object of severe criticism and scorn led by the bold soldier-poet Yahya Bey, descendant of an old Albanian noble family, who had become a man of high rank in the Empire and criticized both Sultan and Vezir in beautiful poems, which were in everybody's hand. Rüstem asked the Sultan to execute him, but Süleiman had a weak spot in his heart for daring men like Yahya and merely transferred him to Zvornik, in Bosnia, where he had his feudal goods (Gibb *H.O.P.* III, p. 116 ff.).

carefully removed the mantle that covered the mystic, he found only his mortal remains. Sinecak was buried in Sütlüce, on the left side of the road along the shores of the Bosphorus.

His followers, Mevlana Shuri and others, assembled around his grave, and a pious wealthy man built a Tekke for them. The tomb remained a place of veneration even in the last century.

Sinecak literary works exist in the three great Oriental languages, Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Written in Persian is his famous educative poem *Ceseri-i Mesnevi*.

A well-known pupil of Sinecak was Hasan Sunahi, also born in Yenice Vardar. Like his master, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and lived for some time in the centre of the Mevlevi Order, the old Selçuk capital Konya (the Iconium of the Byzantines), the place where the illustrious Djalal ud Din Rumi spent the greater part of his life. Sunahi spent the last part of his life as a Mevlevi dervish in Trikala and Salonica working, praying and writing poems all of which breathe the air of mysticism, to which his life was devoted. It was in Salonica (in Turkish Selanik) that the famous writer, historian, translator and biographer of poets Aşık Çelebi¹ got to know him and devoted some pages to him and his poetry.

The last great man of the little Macedonian town whom we wish to mention here is the poet king Hayali (Ḥayālī). All biographers, but especially Kinalizade, praised him as the most genial man in the world. He must have been born in the last decade of the 15th century. He became a Kalender dervish under Baba Ali and remained with him in his native town. Finally, however, like many others of his time, he could not resist the attractive power of the

¹ Aşık or Ashük Çelebi was born in 1520, in Prizren, whilst his father was Kadi of Skopje (Turkish Üskiib, from the Albanian Shkup) and worked for the greater part of his life as Kadi in the cities of Rumuli (Pristina, Servia, Arta, Kratovo, Rouse, Nikopol, etc.). He was deposed in 1568, but on account of his great merit in the field of literature he was appointed Kadi of Skopje for life by favour of Grand Vezir Mehmed Sokollu. He died in that city in 1572 and was buried in a Turbe on the Ghazi Baba hill, which existed until the recent earthquake.

For detailed information about him, see: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, vol 1, p. 698. About his Turbe: Krum Tomovski, *Pregled na poznacajnite turbinja vo Makedonija*. Godisen Zbornik na Tehnickiot Fakultet Univers. Skopje III 1957-58, p. 95-111.

capital. He went to Istanbul and found protection at the hands of the powerful Defterdar Iskender Çelebi and the Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha. After both had met their violent end and Hayali was without a patron, he drew Sultan Süleiman's attention by writing a sublime kaside in which he applied for the post of Sancak Bey, which was indeed granted to him. The Sultan was such a great protector of poets and scholars that at first he gave many of them an executive function without taking too much notice of their abilities in this field.¹ Hayali was an example of such a governor; he carelessly spent all his money or wasted it with his friends. In spite of the fact that he had the dignity of Sancak Bey and consequently enjoyed a substantial salary, he remained true to his dervish manners. The above-mentioned biographer and poet Aşık Çelebi from Skopje was for twenty years (till Hayali's death in 1556) his best friend and to him he dedicated his most beautiful poems. As the Sultan had given Hayali a peaceful district in Macedonia near his native town, Aşık, who served as Kadi in many places in European Turkey, was allowed the control of his financial affairs. This became all the easier when Aşık was appointed Kadi of Servia, as Hayali had his feudal possessions there.

Hayali, the fantastic one, whose work was in everybody's hand, died like his fellow-citizen Hayreti in the old Ottoman capital Adrianople in 1556/57. He was buried in the courtyard of the mosque of Vize Çelebi, beside a fountain which he himself had erected there.² The mosque has disappeared long ago but the fountain, called Hayali Baba Çesmesi, is still preserved in the Uzun Kaldırım street in Adrianople³, not far from the famous

¹ In the Government's great reforms, about the middle of his long reign, which earned him the title of Kanuni or Lawgiver, the Sultan for ever put an end to these practices.

² The 17th century historian of the city of Adrianople, Abdürrahmân Hibrî in his "Enİs-ül-MüsâmirIn" manuscript Vienna, p. 123 ff. mentions that Hayali lived several years in Adrianople, died in H. 964, (1556/57) and was buried near the Ekmekcioğlu Han next to the fountain which is called after him. Osman Nuri Peremeci, Edirne Tarihi, Istanbul 1939, p. 195-196, mentions about the same but adds that the fountain, because of its two water pipes likewise called İki Lüleli Çesme, was built by Hayali. The mosque of Vize Çelebi appears to Peremeci a foundation of Hayali's forebears.

³ Visited by the author of this pages in the autumn of 1971.

Ekmekcioğlu Kervanseray. A copy of his highly popular Divan even found its way to the Hofbibliothek of Vienna.

Here we must end our survey of important men who were born or who lived in Yenice Vardar. As the brief and sketchy notes on their lives in the works of the Tezkireh writers are the only information we have about them and these notes often bear the character of anecdotes, very little in fact could be told, but it is clearly evident from this sparse information that the 16th century was a remarkable one for Yenice Vardar and that this town was not a normal minor city of the huge Empire. A special spiritual and cultured atmosphere created by men like Emir Ahmad Evrenos and Scheich Ilahi must have dominated the life of this place, in which so many gifted men were born and what is of still greater importance, were able to develop their talents and become leaders of the main spiritual currents of their age as did Yusuf Sinacak, Ilahi or Usuli. The same is true for poets like Hayali, Hayreti and many others who filled with their works the immense treasure-house of classical Ottoman literature.

Because of the language used in these works and the subject-matter they contain, it is likely that they will always remain closed books to the Westerner, except for a very small circle, but the names of the illustrious men who wrote them should not be forgotten altogether and we have therefore brought them to light after a long period of obscurity.

In later centuries Yenice Vardar continued to exist as a provincial town; the Evrenos family was still living, but only as wealthy landowners on their vast estates. One of them, Evrenosoğlu Şerif Ahmad, revived for a while, it seems, the building activity of his predecessors, judging by the inscription on the big Clocktower (Saatkule) he had built in the middle of the 18th century, but the poetical character of this inscription in rhyme is of very middling quality. No doubt it was the work of a minor local poet, as greater men were no longer at hand.

At the beginning of the present century, when Adolf Struck made his intensive studies of the Macedonian Lowlands, Yenice Vardar still counted 2000 houses with 9700 inhabitants, 6000 of

whom were Turks, 3000 Bulgarians and 700 Greeks and Aromunen. Struck counted only 7 mosques, or one-third of the number existing in the early 19th century!¹ The large number of ruins in the city also afforded evidence of its importance in times before his. Indeed, the town had decayed rapidly in the 19th century as a result of terrible epidemics of the plague and its consequent abandonment by many of its former inhabitants, who left for healthier places.² Struck still saw the Turbe's of Ahmad Evrenos and Scheich Ilahi in the Büyük Tekke, which remained a place of great veneration for the Moslem inhabitants. The great aquaduct built by Ahmad Bey also remained standing and still supplied the city with fresh water.

After the Treaty of Lausanne in 1922-23 the Turks of Macedonia were exchanged for Greeks from Asia Minor. The Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks of the Moglena district, who identified themselves as Moslems and Turks, were also uprooted from their ancestral soil and left too. Those Christian Bulgarians who had opted for the Bulgarian Exarchat had fled to the north when the Greek Army conquered Macedonia, and those who had formerly remained loyal to the Eucumenian Patriarch were slowly submerged in the Greek masses.

Yenice Vardar, burned and destroyed during the battle that took place near it in the Balkan War of 1912, was repopulated solely by Greeks, rebuilt as a new Greek town without much character and lives on as a minor provincial centre of agriculture. Its name was changed to Giannitsa. The five hundred years of Moslem life in it are a thing of the forgotten past of which only a few neglected buildings still stand as reminders.

Not many of the places in the former Ottoman provinces of Europe which remained in Moslem hands until 1912 and played a role of any importance, have preserved so few monuments from this period as did Yenice Vardar. In the now neglected quarter of the

¹ Struck in the study mentioned on p. 305, note 2, pages 67-68.

² This Turkish retreat to Asia Minor was a general tendency throughout the last century. It was noticed in Thrace, the plain of Skopje, the Kampania and also in Thessalia. The free space was filled mainly by Bulgarians, as this people witnessed in the early 19th century a great renaissance.

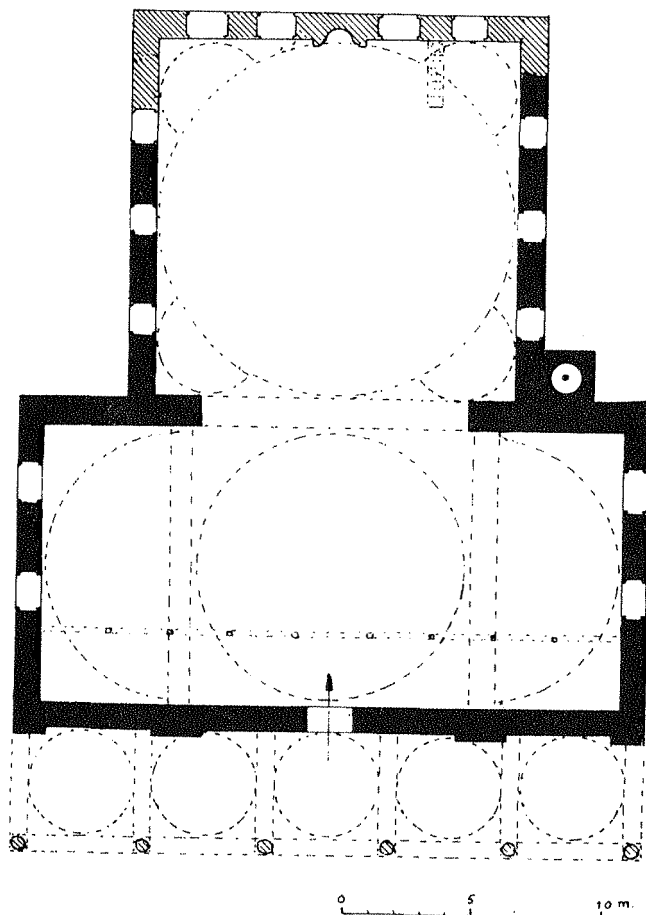




Fig. 1. Yenice Vardar, Mosque of Evrenosoğlu Ahmad Bey.

 = reconstruction

 = existing parts

market, the Çarşı of old, we still find a basin of white marble which once stood in the courtyard of a mosque; the massive Bedesten has vanished entirely and no one remembers the place where it once stood. Until 1967 there still was a large hamam in a bad state of

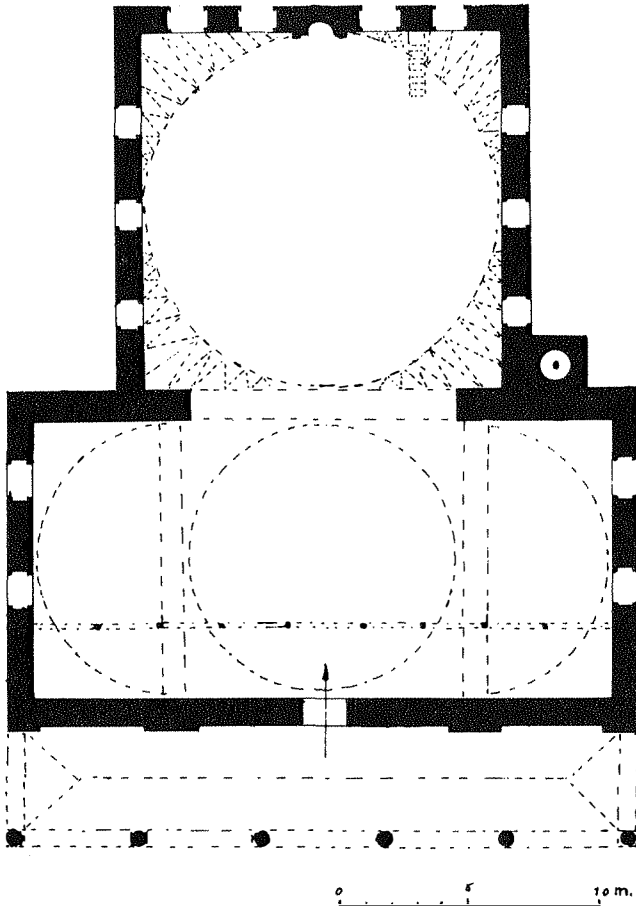


Fig. 2. Yenice Vardar, Mosque of Evrenosoğlu Ahmad Bey
Alternative reconstruction.

decay but still, architecturally speaking, fairly well preserved. During my second visit to this place in 1969¹ I was unable to find it again. In its place a large, new house was built. As it was situated

¹ This journey of 16.000 km through the former provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, in which preparations the institute of Prof. Blanken played a great part, was made possible by a scholarship of the *Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research, Z.W.O.* and a generous gift of the Prins Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam.

in the immediate neighbourhood of the mosque of Ahmed Bey it may have been the bath built by him.

As the city centre has shifted to a different place and the quarters formerly inhabited by Turks have been rebuilt in a very modest way with much open space, fallow land and unkempt gardens between the low houses, it is easy to find the remaining Turkish buildings. More or less preserved are two mosques, one hamam, one turbe and the saatkule. We will here briefly discuss these five objects and try to locate their position in Ottoman-Turkish architecture.

The Turbe of Emir Ahmad Evrenos still stands in a perfect state of preservation, somewhat back in a garden near the square on which recently the new Orthodox Metropolitan Church was built. It is a massive square building, measuring 8.80 m by 8.80 m, and is covered by a dome. The entire Turbe is built of so-called cloisonné of soft, light yellow stone, each block surrounded on all four sides by a layer of brick, with horizontal bricks at top and bottom and vertical bricks on the two short sides. In this way a pleasant effect is obtained and the monotony of plain façades avoided. A simple monumentality is obtained by means of massive and severe proportions with a double series of windows and cornices of brick dents round the edge of the main body and the tambour of the dome as sole adornments.

By reason of its proportions and use of building materials it belongs to the second half of the 15th century. Rather unusual is its square ground plan. The normal shape would be octagonal. As it is highly improbable that Ahmad Bey would have given orders for building to a provincial master-builder, we must seek the explanation in the expressed desire of the Emir to have a simple and plain final resting-place. Such things were of common occurrence in the Turkish Empire. Well-known is the case of the Turbe of Sultan Murad II who, in his last will and testament, ordered that he should be buried like any ordinary man, in a simple grave open to the air so that the rain and snow of heaven could fall upon it.¹

Outside the town, on the western side, stands the only remaining

¹ His Turbe in Bursa is the only one of this kind in the large imperial Graveyard of Muradiye.

Haman of Yenice Vardar. It is a modest but well-developed specimen of a single or "tek hamam", which was used in turn by one of the two sexes. The fact that it stands in the corn-fields outside the town is a vivid indication of the town's former size and importance. The surrounding quarter of the town disappeared without leaving any trace.

As the building is in a shocking state of decay and is overgrown with grass, not much can be said about its original appearance, but its ground-plan is clearly recognizable.

In the western part of the town, not far from the hamam, we still find a small domed mosque with its minaret preserved up to the balcony.¹ It is a rather clumsy building, without any grace, and must have been one of the minor and unimportant mosques on the periphery of the city, to which forms little attention was given. Today it is situated within the fences of an Army barracks and serves as a store, hence no exact measurements could be taken nor any idea obtained as to the structure of the walls. At first glance it appears as a work of the 17th century, but in view of its two-domed gallery it may be older.

The best-preserved Turkish building of the town is doubtless the Saatkule or clock tower. Because of the fact that in Islamic countries the practice of calling the people to religious services by means of bells is virtually unknown, bell towers were never built in connection with mosques. Towers indicating the time of day were built as independent items standing in a prominent place in the city centre, usually in the middle of the Çarşı, or market quarter, or sometimes even on a hill-top, as is the case in Skopje and Plovdiv. Of clock towers only five examples are preserved in Greece.

There is a slender one of the 19th century in Komotini, a very modest one in Didymotichon one also dating from the last century in Kozani and one in Grevena. The one of Yenice Vardar was erected in the middle of the 18th century; it is the oldest of the five and, with that of Komotini, among the few bearing an inscription which gives the date of construction and the name of its founder. This is Evrenosoğlu Şerif Ahmad in the year 1167 of the Hidjra or 1753-54 A.D.

¹ Today it is deformed by a ugly guard-house built on top of it.

The inscription is cut in two large slabs of white marble, one bearing the inscription proper and the other a kind of decorative arch in which there is a lamp suspended from a chain, in low relief.

The inscription, the only one preserved in Yenice Vardar, runs as follows: ¹

شريف احمد ز نسل اورنوس اول مير ذیشانك
 همیشه حسن سعی و یردی وقف جدہ پیرایہ
 ینہ بر ساعت احداث ایلوب اوقاتی بلردی
 مہیاد مکر پنجگانہ اسلامی ایمایہ
 ثوابک والد و مادر ایلہ ارواح غازیہ
 خلوص نیت ایلہ حاضر ایتمش تحفہ اهدایہ
 فریدا بر برین پامال ایلوب کلدی دلہ تاریخ
 ہلہ سوز یوق بو زیبا ساعت والا ورعتایہ
 سنہ ۱۱۶۷

In transcription that is:

Şerif Aḥmad zi nesl-i Evrenos ol mîr-i zî-şânîñ
 Hemîşe ḥüsn-i sa‘yî verdi vaqf-î ğedde-pîrāye
 Yine bir sâ‘at ihdâş eyleyüb evqâtî bildirdi
 Müheyyâdir meger penĝ-gâne-i Islâmî imāye
 Sevâbîñ vâlid u mâder ile ervâḥ-i ğâziye
 Ḥulûş-î niyyet ile ḥâzîr etmiş tuḥfe ihdāye
 Ferîdâ bir birin pāmâl edüb geldi dile târiḥ
 “Hele söz yoq bu zîbâ sâ‘at-î vâlâ u ra‘nāya”
 Sene 1167

In English translation:

Şerif Ahmad, of the progeny of Evrenos, that glorious commander,
 Has always spent the best of his efforts on the *vaqf* that graces
 his forefather.

¹ The transcription of this difficultly readable inscription was made by Dr. Nihat Çetin of the Istanbul University from a photograph taken by the writer. The translation was made by Dr. F. Th. Dijkema of Leiden.

He now made a clock so that time was known:
 But he constructed it to be a token of five-fold Islam.
 The reward he has with pure intentions wanted to present
 As a gift to his father and mother and to the souls of the *gazis*.
 With deletion of only one, this chronogram came to the tongue:
 "See, there is no word for this beautiful, supreme and pretty
 clock".

Year 1167

The building itself is plain and square, its lower part made of fine worked greyish limestone blocks, with extremely thin joints. This part of the tower is finished by means of a simple cornice above which the work is of much lesser quality, rough-cut stone plastered over with grey lime mortar. This part is also finished by a cornice. On top of the building, which still towers high above the low houses of this silent quarter of the town, there once stood the little house with the clocks, but this part disappeared long ago.

The last building we shall discuss here is the Mosque of Ahmad Bey Evrenosoğlu, or rather its terribly mutilated remains. Indeed, no large and important Turkish monument in the entire Balkan peninsular is in such a shameful and terrible state, even surpassing the dreadful state of preservation of the impressive and original Zincirli and Ahmad Pasha mosques in Serres.¹ At the first glance it is hard to recognize the building at all as a monument of great importance. But it certainly is important, and we must not, therefore, be misled by its present state. Here we have a highly original building of a type we do not find anywhere else in the vast dominions of Ottoman architecture extending from Hungary to Egypt and from Bosnia to the lands beyond Baghdad. It is not strange to find such an original creation precisely in this place, considering the extraordinary time when it came into being. It is also the largest domed building ever erected by the Turks in Greece.

The mosque consisted of four clearly defined parts, the outer portico, the minaret and the prayer hall proper, which was divided into two domed units.

¹ Regarding these important monuments, which sorely need repair, the writer of these pages has a separate study in course of preparation (see. p. 301, n. 1).

It appears that the building was damaged during the battle of 1912, when the outer portico and the minaret must have disappeared. The great need for space to live and work in Greece after the First World War and the disasters brought about by the Smyrna adventure, was the reason why the mosque was not demolished but was used as a store by a cotton trader.

Shortly after World War II large transformations took place. The old mihrab wall was demolished, together with the great dome and the building was enlarged in the south and west directions by the addition of spacious factory-like halls. This enlargement, necessary for better adapting the building to its new functions, completely ruined its ancient appearance and turned it into the ugly carcass which it is today. It was carried out with machine-made hollow bricks whose impudent red colour is in striking contrast to the soft grey of the remaining parts of the old mosque, thus intensifying the unpleasant aspect of the present building. To establish contact with the western part of the complex the old mosque wall was opened up by a large new gate. The dome of the cross-axial section was partly demolished and this section was cut off from the remaining part of the mosque by a new wall.

The large domed section suffered most of all. Its dome disappeared entirely and at half the height of the room a concrete floor was made, thus entirely spoiling the old arrangement of the interior space.

Nevertheless, in spite of all this deformation a reconstruction of the original appearance is still possible.

The body of the mosque was a square of 10.70 m covered by a single dome which rested on the walls by means of four large pendentives. It was flanked on its two lateral sides by large semi-domes. These three vaulted compartments form together one spatial unit in the transverse axis of the building, hardly, if at all, divided by pilastres. On the outside the presence of these semi-domes are made visible and stressed by the strong recess of their tambours, which have the form of three sides of an octagon. The second main part of the mosque was a large and wide hall with a diameter of 14.10 m, on the south side of the transverse hall. In this way the plan acquired the shape of a T, characteristic of early Ottoman

architecture. In the middle of the hall there remains an original arched window. If we redouble the measurement from the middle of this window to the north wall we find exactly the same number as the distance between the two other remaining walls, namely 14.10, and may safely conclude that the room was an exact square. As this hall, the most important part of the mosque, was lit only by two side windows and the one high up in the wall, mentioned above, we might reconstruct the missing Mihrab wall¹ as one opened up with many windows, to obtain a cross-axial effect and to direct the view of the observer to the most important axis of the building and emphasize the place where the Mihrab was situated. The great number of windows and the therefore comparative weakness of the construction might be the very reason why just this wall was demolished when the mosque was made into a factory. The laying of emphasis upon the so-called Qibla wall is to be seen in many Turkish mosques, especially in single-cell buildings on a square ground plan. This emphasis was often obtained by greater colour intensity of the coloured glass windows, those flanking the Mihrab being the richest and having the deepest colours. In the T-plan type, which is a further development of the so-called Zaviye-mosque,² this stressing of the importance of the longitudinal axis was effected in a different way. Here, the lateral rooms were more or less shut off from the main body by strongly accentuated arches and dealt with as separate units.

In the mosque of Yenice Vardar the very opposite was done by treating the dividing walls as mere pilastres and vaulting these side rooms with large semi-domes which formed one oblong space instead of separating them into three independent spaces. This is a unique feature which we find nowhere else in Ottoman architecture.

A thing which could not be ascertained during my visit of Yenice Vardar in 1969 became clear when I visited the place for the third

¹ A Mihrab is a niche in the middle of the back wall and is orientated towards Mecca, in which direction the prayers are uttered.

² For the problems associated with this type of building, its origins and development, see: Semavi Eyice, *Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler*, in: İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası no. 1-4, İstanbul 1963, pp. 1-80. See also the remarks of Robert Anhegger, "*Zur Frage der T-planmoscheen*" in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 17, 1967, pp. 324-330, with much information and literature.

time, in 1970.¹ That is the original form of roofing of the great prayer hall of the mosque. The original height of the walls is lost but, judging by the proportions, could not have been much higher than it is now. A dome resting on pendentives is out of the question, as the latter begin very low and no traces of them could be found on the remains of the prayer hall. That this section was covered by a dome became clear during discussion of this matter with old inhabitants of the town. So the outward appearance of the roofing of the mosque no longer presents problems. For the interior form and way of construction only two possibilities, those of "tromps" and of a belt of folds or "Turkish triangles", remains open. This way of intermedia between square and dome is to be seen in the mosque of Faik Pasha in Arta of 1493,² almost contemporaneous with the building we are dealing with. When the great dome was demolished it was thought necessary to remove the adjoining belt of folds or triangles as well, so that the room could be covered with a simple iron roof. Originally it had been surrounded on the outside with four small-sized domed corner towers. These building elements, by means of which the semi-circular dome and the square body of the mosque harmoniously shade off into each other, is still to be seen in the great mosque which Sultan Bayazid II had built in Istanbul between 1501-1506.

A dome with a span surpassing 14 metres presented no problems for the Turkish architects of that time. Whilst in Middle and Late Byzantine architecture the dome never exceeds a diametre of 10-11 metres, Turkish architects constructed about the same time domes of nearly 20 metres. Such was for example, the mosque of Yıldırım Bayazid in Mudurnu, N. W. Anatolia, dating from about 1395, whose dome measures 19.55 m.³ The central dome of Uç Şerefeli

¹ Like that of 1969, this last-mentioned visit to Yenice Vardar was made possible by another scholarship of *Z.W.O.* (see p. 319, note 1).

² For this building see the studies of Eyice, *Yunanistan'da unutulmuş, eski bir Türk eseri*, and of Orlandos, *Arta*, as mentioned on p. 103, note 1.

³ The architects who developed Ottoman architecture and transplanted it to Europe were Turks of Asia Minor, as for example Hacı Alaudin of Konya, builder of the Old Mosque of Adrianople in 1403, or Hacı İvaş Pasha from Tokat, builder of the famous Green Mosque of Bursa and the Çelebi Mehmed Mosque in Didymotichon from 1419.

Mosque of Adrianople, built in 1435, even measures 26 metres! The widest dome to be found in Greece is that of the impressive Kurşunlu Cami in Trikala, built by the famous Turkish architect Mimar Sinan about the year 1565, at the order of Osman Shah Bey, the powerful son-in-law of Sultan Süleiman.

The form and mode of construction of the now vanished outer gallery is also a point of discussion. The wall against which the gallery was built is 24.57 m long. This means that it was divided into five sections with columns and arches. On smaller mosques the gallery consisted of three units covered by three domes or, very rarely, with two only.

A light gallery of six columns and five domes of the type we find still preserved and even restored, in the near by Salonica, on the mosque of Inegöllü Ishak Pasha of 1486, could have been built against the mosque of Yenice Vardar. But as no traces of vaults can be found on the latter building this would seem to suggest that it was covered with a wooden tunnel vault, as is the case on the Yahya Pasha Mosque in Skopje, dating from 1501. The outward appearance of the mosque is very sober, its only adornment being its imitation cloisonné work of the walls, which is of a kind we often find in Macedonia (for example in Bitola). The sole element of beauty of this remarkable building was its line and well-balanced proportions, now so badly massed.

The mosque which Emir Ahmad Evrenos had built about the year 1490 in his residence Yenice Vardar, marks the end of a long and interesting evolution within the Ottoman architecture. It is a characteristic work of the transitory period between Early Ottoman architecture and the Classical Period. This period of change and searching for new trends coincides with the reign of the Sultans Murad II, Mehmed Fatih and Bayazid II, roughly between 1430 and 1500.

The T-plan, of which it is a late offshoot, dates back to the times of the Selçuks of Asia Minor, the predecessors of the Ottomans which paved the way for them in many respects. In the 13th century they had the old Arab type of mosque with its large open court-yard transformed into a type more adapted to the severe climate of the Central Anatolian plateau. They made the original court, with a

fountain in the middle, much smaller and covered it with a large dome which was open in the centre, so that the light could fall through it. To make it impossible for rain and snow to do the same, they set a stone lantern above this oculus. Underneath it they maintained the original fountain and water pool. This central part of the building, paved with marble, was surrounded on three sides by rooms having different functions, which floor level was built considerably higher and was covered with carpets in order to emphasize this difference. The prayer hall proper was usually vaulted by a barrel vault.

This type of building was not only a mosque but served at the same time as a college or *Zaviye* (place for religious meetings and exercises of members of the dervish orders or brotherhoods), the function of mosque being restricted to one clearly defined part. With some minor changes and additions ¹ in form and construction this type remained in general use until about the middle of the 15th century. After that date important changes were made which resulted in the emergence of the classical Ottoman mosque of the 16th century. In this creative period, under the reign of the three above-mentioned Sultans, Ottoman architects abandoned safe and time-honoured architectural expression and searched for new forms and compositions. The result of this development was the emergence of a large number of types, some totally new formulations of themes which had for a century or more been obsolete,² others an extensive development of the T-plan, often hardly recognizable. During this period of transformation experiments were made with the element of the semi-dome in order to arrive at a static and centralized space, with a dome in the middle, to which the other elements were subordinated. In the mosque of Yenice Vardar the element of the semi-dome was grafted on a transformed T-plan. In my opinion it is a logic development of the experiments with this plan as found in the great mosque of Sultan Bayazid II in Amasia—Asia Minor—

¹ The rear side-rooms were omitted, a domed gallery was added, the proportions were different and less sculpture was used.

² The *Üç Şerefeli Cami* of Adrianople, built between 1435 and 1445, with its entirely new-modelled interior space and large-domed court-yard, is a creation of this kind. In the province the development was slower and old forms remained in use there for a much longer period.

which was finished in 1485.¹ There we see a considerable difference in size and volume between the first and the second dome of the main body, a feature so remarkably expressed in Yenice Vardar. In the Amasia mosque the side spaces are both covered by two domes, supported by a heavy pillar, whereas in Yenice Vardar the pillar is omitted and both lateral spaces covered by one large half dome. In the last mentioned mosque the possibilities to create one unified space are fully utilized, whereas in the some years older Amasia mosque they are left unused. The mosque of Yenice Vardar therefore appears as a further development of the solution first found in the imperial mosque of Amasia and the (unknown) architect of it must have been the same as the master who worked for Sultan Bayezid.

The element of the semi-dome might have been inspired by Early Byzantine architecture, but this must be stated with the greatest caution, as it was known to Turkish architecture long before Constantinople fell into their hands. At the same time it must be mentioned that the soil was well prepared to take over such an element, and it merely served to give the monumental mosque-architecture the form at which it had aimed so long. This was the case with the great mosque of the same Sultan Bayazid in Istanbul, built in 1501-06, which after nearly three-quarters of a century of experimenting, expressed for the first time the formulae of classical Ottoman architecture and set the example for the golden 16th century.

The mosque of Ahmad Bey in Yenice Vardar marks only one phase in this long process, a phase in which the pure forms of later times were still unachieved, but in which an unic and highly original building was created. It is incredible that this work could so long escape the attention of the scientific public, which it rightly deserves, and shows again how greatly the field of Oriental art has been neglected in European science.

¹ For this building see: A. Gabriel, *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie. II*, Paris 1934, pp. 33-41.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was written a number of sources have become available and the buildings could be studied better, considerably enriching the picture of the cultural life of Yenice-i Vardar.

At p. 301, n. 1: The study on the monuments of Komotini and Serres announced in this note is No III in the present volume. On the most important Ottoman monument of Kavalla (apart from the aqueduct of Sultan Süleyman)—the İmaret of Mehmed Ali Pasha (composed of a large medrese, a library, mescid, primary school and an imaret)—see now the excellent study of Emilia Stefanidou, 'To İmaret tis Kavalas', *Makedonika* 25–28 (Thessaloniki, 1986), pp. 203–265, with full plans, photographs, sections, etc.

At p. 302: The work of Kınalı-zâde is now available in print in the edition of İbrahim Kutluk, *Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, 2 vols (Ankara, 1978, 1981).

At p. 303: There has been controversy over the authenticity of the document of Murad I in favour of Ghazi Evrenos, in which the latter received large territories as his property. Yet there is some documentation on the extent of this property, which was large indeed. Vasili Demetriadis published a list of 51 villages belonging to the vakf of Ghazi Evrenos, dated 1771 but added that late 19th-century lists contain 92 villages (V. Demetriadis, 'Forologikes katigorias ton chorion tis Thessalonikis kata tin Tourkokratia', *Makedonika* XX [Thessaloniki, 1980], pp. 375–462; the Evrenos Vakf is on pp. 407–12). The (unpublished) Ottoman tahrir defter No 70 from 1519 gives on pp. 166–67 a list of 59 villages belonging to the vakf. Most of them are the same as those mentioned by Demetriadis. The total yearly tax revenue from this property was 460,983 akçe, which is enormous. These data show that Evrenos indeed had very extensive possessions.

At p. 307, n. 3: The section on Greek Macedonia of Evliya's great work is now available in Greek translation by Vasili Demetriadis, *I Kentriki kai Ditiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Tselepi* (Thessaloniki, 1973).

At p. 310, n. 1: On the expansion of the Macedonian cities in the 16th century see also the monograph of Aleksander Stojanovski, *Gradovite na Makedonija od krajot na XIV do XVII vek* (Skopje, 1981).

At p. 311: The mystic poetry of Nesimi is now accessible in the English translation of Kathleen R.F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* (The Hague–Paris, 1972).

At p. 312: The 'city-thriller' of Hayreti on the beauties of Yenice-i Vardar has been published by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 'Hayreti'nin Yenice Şehr-engizi', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4/ 5 (İstanbul, 1975/76), pp. 81–100.

At p. 314: The Divân of Aşık Çelebi is now more easily accessible in the edition of G. Meredith-Owens, *Aşık Çelebi Meşarir üş-şuarâ* (London, 1971).

At p. 318: The Yenice bedesten stood on the Paleo Pazarou in the lower part of the town, near to the Şadırvânönü Han. The Şadırvân was still extant during my first visit to Yenice-i Vardar, in 1967. Vasili Demetriadis met old inhabitants of the town who remembered the bedesten and the han both existing as ruins before World War II. The Şadırvân disappeared in the 1970s. The modern road from Thessaloniki to Edessa skirts the site.

At p. 319: The hamam which I was unable to find in 1969 is still standing (1989). I could study it in detail in 1976 and add a plan of it here. This hamam shows pronounced early-Ottoman features in layout and in the patterns of its vaults. It stood next to what once was the türbe of Ghazi Evrenos. This türbe was in the late 19th century totally rebuilt and enlarged. After 1912 it was transformed into a cotton factory. In this building Vasili Demetriadis discovered the original tombstone of Ghazi Evrenos, from 1417, with the Arabic inscription the text of which was noted

by Evliya Çelebi in vol. VIII of his 'Travelogue' (see: Vasili Demetriadis, 'The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Bey at Yanitsa and its Inscription', *Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976), pp. 328–332). Evliya (VIII, p. 172) noted that there were three hamams in Yenice and describes them with some detail. The first and most elaborate was that of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, the second was the hamam of Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey, situated in the Çarşı, the shopping district of Yenice, and the third was that of Sheikh Ilahi, a small bath situated close to his türbe and tekke. The bath of Ahmed Bey has disappeared long since: in the former Çarşı area, which was the most severely damaged in the battle of 1912, all Ottoman buildings have gone. The baths of Sheikh Ilahi are still standing as a ruin, below the flat hill on which his grave and tekke were situated. It was known for its miraculous powers of healing. Added here is a plan of this structure, which, with its features characteristic of the time of Bayezid II (1481–1512), fits well in with Evliya's story. This means that the only candidate for the Hamam of Ghazi Evrenos is the bath still standing close to the türbe of this man. Its pronounced early Ottoman features hardly leave room for doubt: they have little in common with the bath architecture of the time of Bayezid II, thus excluding the possibility that this could be the hamam of Ahmed Bey if the Market district was larger in the 17th century than at the beginning of the 20th. This implies that we are here confronted with one of the oldest Ottoman baths of the entire Balkans, if not the oldest, preceding the Hamam of Oruç Pasha in Didymoteichon, which is from 1398/99 (see Study XIII). As Yenice-i Vardar became Evrenos' base of operation in or immediately after 1385, we have to date the construction of his buildings for the Islamic way of life, (mosque, medrese, imaret and hamam) to the decade after this. The bath is a recognised architectural monument but, up to the present time (1989), nothing has been done in the way of maintenance, let alone restoration.

At p. 321: The small domed mosque inside the Greek army barracks is not a 17th-century structure but considerably older, as I hinted at. This building could be studied at leisure after the fall of the Papadopoulos dictatorship. It is a late 15th-century structure with a dome of 7.30 metres inner span, resting on pendentives in the manner of the buildings of the time of Bayezid II. Careful reading of the description of Evliya Çelebi makes it clear that this is in fact the mosque (or better: mesjid) of Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey. Evliya mentions it in fifth place in his hierarchical description of the Yenice mosques, which fits well with its size and importance. In the portico of this small mosque was the much venerated grave of Sheikh Ilahi. A domed and lead-covered medrese and an imaret stood nearby. The medrese existed until the Second World War, when it was demolished (a modern Greek church marks its site); older inhabitants of Giannitsa were still able to describe it well. During the last years of the dictatorship some fanatics tried to demolish the mosque and brought down a part of the great dome and one of the domes of the portico before they could be stopped. In 1989 everything was still in the same shape. Being a building with such historical associations it no doubt deserves quick action before the whole structure collapses.

At pp. 318–19 and 323–29: It is very probable that the great mosque of Yenice-i Vardar was not built by Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey but by another member of the family, Iskender Bey. This Iskender Bey was until recently virtually unknown. He does not appear in the genealogical list of the family made by Irène Melikoff (article: 'Evrenosoğulları' in E.I.²). Evliya (VIII, pp. 170–71) is rather clear about this mosque, which he mentions in first place, before the Badralı, Isa Bey, Receb Çelebi and Ahmed Bey mosques. He noted: 'Of all the 17 places of prayer of them the most elaborate and perfect, prosperous and decorated and with a large congregation is the Iskender Bey Mosque in the Çarşı, an old place of prayer covered with lead. Over the main entrance is the following inscription: . . . ' He then gives the text of this Arabic inscription with some errors. It mentions 'Iskender, from the family of Evrenos' and gives the date in the form of a chronogram: Dâr qarâr-i ecruhâ, which gives the date of H. 916 (10 April 1510–30 March 1511).

The style of the building we see today, with typically large pendentives and the use of halfdomes, is no doubt from the time of Bayezid II (1481–1512). I previously suggested 'about 1490', but 1510 is well within the limits of this style. As to the hitherto unknown Iskender Bey, there now is a list of Ottoman Sandjak Beys of Hercegovina, drawn up by officials of Dubrovnik and published in *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju XVI–XVII* (1970), pp. 91–99. This list mentions a 'Schenderbegh Aurenosovich', who was Sandjak Bey of the important Sandjak of Hercegovina between 1517 and 1518. This can hardly be anyone other than the builder of the great Yenice Mosque.

The Vakıfnâme of 'Şemseddin Ahmed Bey ben Isa Bey ben Gazi Evrenos Bey' for his buildings in Yenice-i Vardar is preserved in the Başbanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. It is dated: Evâ'il Ulâ 'l-Cemâdin sene 'araba ve tis'a miye (=mid-December 1498). According to this document Ahmed Bey founded in Yenice-i Vardar: a mesjid, a medrese, a double hamam, a single hamam, an imaret, a bedesten with shops on four sides, a han, also with shops on four sides, many other shops, many fountains and a water supply system. In Tatar Pazarçık (Bulgarian Thrace) he founded an imaret and a mosque, in the Macedonian town of Vodena (now Edessa) an imaret, a mesjid, a hamam and shops, in Prilep (Yugosl. Macedonia) a hamam, in Prizren-Kosovo a hamam, a hamam and a fountain in Herceg Novi, a fountain in the Vakf village of Hisarbey, and another fountain in the castle of Kruja in Albania; altogether 15 large buildings. Of all these buildings only the mesjid with the grave of Sheikh İlahi is preserved till today. The fountain in Kruja was still seen by Ippen at the beginning of the present century.

For the upkeep of these foundations Ahmed Bey donated the tax income of five villages: the Turkish village of Hisarbey, the Christian villages of Bulgar and Vlach, the mixed Muslim-Christian village of Pınarbaşı, all four in the kaza of Yenice-i Vardar, and finally the large Greek village of Agosto (now Naousa) in the kaza of Karaferya (Verria). The census and taxation register T.D. 70 from 1519 (p. 168) mentions the same villages as part of the Vakf property of Ahmed Bey and show their actual revenue: 113,531 akçe yearly. With this sum the Vakf belonged to the richer ones of the Balkans; and to this has to be added the income from the rent of the many shops the han and the bath. Additional property in the form of houses and plots of land were added by Ahmed Bey's son Musa Bey, in Receb 908 (February 1503), after the death of the old warrior-Maecenas. The most lasting of all of Ahmed Bey's deeds was the foundation of the village of Agosto, which under the privileged administrative status it had received developed into the prosperous Macedonian town of Naousa.

It is highly probable that the hamam which by the time of Evliya Çelebi bore the name of Sheikh İlahi was in fact the single bath mentioned in the Vakıfnâme. It got that name because it was situated near the Tekke of the Sheikh, who must have used it frequently.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE FRONTIERS OF THE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN THE 15th CENTURY

Ottoman epigraphic material on the third Turkish conquest of Vizye – Vize in Thrace.*

Ten years ago Bakalopoulos published a short but instructive treatise on the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire from the end of the 14th century to its fall, in which most of the available source material was used.¹ In these few pages we would like to add new information to the problems of the frontiers of the Empire on the basis of a monument of Ottoman-Turkish epigraphy which might be not totally unknown but which was certainly not used in this context.² We mean an inscription still present on the Mosque of Hasan Bey in the old castle of Vizye – Vize – in present day Turkish Thrace. The information it contains is further confirmed by a Vakifname – deed of foundation – on the same object.

To recapitulate the story of the Byzantine frontiers in Thrace according to the dates as established by Bakalopoulos, adding only some supplementary evidence, the following should be said. The Black Sea towns of Mesembria, Anchialos and Sosopolis were captured by the Turks between 1367 and 1380. The late 16th century historian Sa'adeddin places the conquest of Vizye in 1368 under the Mihaloğlu. The date is confirmed by the transfer of the Metropolitan see of Vizye to Mesembria.³ On the basis of this it might be concluded that Mesembria fell some time after Vizye. The activity of some members of the Mihaloğlu family appears to be confirmed by the fact that they possessed considerable landed estates precisely in the Vizye area. The area around the near-by Pınarhisar touching on Vizye was known as Ghazi Mihal Toprağı – the Land of Ghazi Mihal.⁴ Between Vizye

* The materials for this article were collected during a journey in Turkey in 1971 which was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Scientific Research, Z. W. O. The Hague, and a gift of the Prince Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam.

¹ A. Bakalopoulos, *Les limites de l'Empire Byzantine depuis la fin du XIV^e siècle jusque à sa chute (1453)*, *Byz. Z.* 55 (1962) 56–65.

² Just after finishing this article the book of Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II Murad devri*, Istanbul 1972, appeared in which the inscription of Vizye is published in Arabic but without translation. Ayverdi's reading of the inscription is the same as ours except for the word "Mubarak" (blessed) which he omits. (Ayverdi p. 572.)

³ Bakalopoulos, p. 59, B. cites Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, p. 6, who in his note 5 mentions Sa'adeddin – Tacuttevarih I, p. 71–85.

⁴ Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien. Südost-europäische Arbeiten* 34, Brunn/München/Wien 1944, gives a map of the borders of this estate extracted from the work of Georgi Ajanov in *Arhiv za Proselištni Proučavanja*, I², Sofia 1938 (Babinger P. 61 note 94).

and Bunarhisar (Pınarhisar) a fine 15th century turbe (mausoleum) still extant is said to contain the tombs of Mihaloğlu Ghazi Yahşi, who allegedly died in 1413,⁵ and that of the saint Binbiroklu Ahmad Baba.⁶ After 1402 the Emperor Manuel confirmed Emir Süleiman as sovereign of Turkish Europe in exchange for the towns and strongholds of Vizye, Midiye, Agatopolis, Pyrgos, Anchialos and Mesembria,⁷ among other places in areas we are not dealing with now. After the death of Emir Süleiman, Musa, his brother, resumed the Ghazi activity against the Christian powers and took, among other places, Vizye. When the third son of Bayazid I, Çelebi Mehmed, succeeded in overthrowing and eliminating the ferocious Musa, he restored Vizye to Byzance, which had firmly supported him in the struggle. According to Bakalopoulos Vizye remained part of the Empire from then (1413) onward to the end in 1453, as he states that the Beylerbey (of Rumili) Karaca Bey occupied the last Byzantine places in February-March of 1453. These were H. Stefanos, Epivates, Heraclea and those on the Black Sea, *Vizye*, Pyrgos, Anchialos and Mesembria.⁸ This is largely true except in the case of Vizye. Concerning this place we have definite information that it was in Turkish hands in 1443/44. This would be more logical than the reconstruction of the frontiers between 1413 and 1453 as given by Bakalopoulos. Vizye lies west of the range of the Strandza Mountains which really form a natural frontier behind which the Black Sea towns were comparatively safe. They constituted an excellent line of demarcation between the two powers. Vizye, on the other hand, was exposed to attacks from the hinterland of Thrace, which since the sixties of the 14th century was undisputably in Ottoman hands. Its site on one of the first spurs of the Strandza dominates the plain to the west. It is difficult to imagine such a place in the flank of the Ottomans. When Vizye became Ottoman for the third time we cannot say, most probably it was taken by Murad II in, or after 1422, on the occasion of his punitive expedition against Constantinople after the Ottoman civil War, provoked by Byzance, or during his campaign against Thessaloniki and Lamia after the death of Manuel II (July 1425). This, however, needs to be confirmed. In any case Vizye was firmly in Ottoman hands in 1443/44 which is proved by an Ottoman-Turkish inscription on the Mosque of Şarabdâr (Cupbearer) Hasan Bey, one of the court officials of Murad II. The mosque in question is a typical representative of a provincial, single unit Ottoman mosque, covered by a dome of 12.05 metres which rises on a,

⁵ Babinger, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 60 note 92. His source is Ali, *Künh ül achbâr V*, 141.

⁶ *Idem* p. 60 note 93. A photograph of this turbe was published by Semavi Eyice, *Varna ile Balçık Arasında Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi*, in: *Belleten T. T. K. XXXV* sayı 124, Ankara 1967, photo 21.

The author of these pages studied the monument in 1971.

⁷ Bakalopoulos pp. 59-60.

⁸ Bakalopoulos pp. 64-54.

for that period, old fashioned sixteensided tambour.⁹ The inscription is carved in a slab of white marble of 52 × 38 cm. placed above the entrance of the mosque. Originally it was protected by a wooden portico which fell into ruins some decades ago; the whole mosque is now in a pitiful state of decay. The two verses of the inscription are written in Arabic prose, and in original and translation¹⁰ read as follows:

امر هذا المسجد المبارك في ايام مراد ابن (1)

محمد خان المير أكبر حسن بك سنة سبع واربعمائة (2)

- (1) Ordered [the construction of] this blessed mosque (mescid) in the days of Murad ibn
 (2) Mehmed Khan the great Emir Hasan Bey. [In] the year eight hundred forty-seven.

H. 847 corresponds with 1 May 1443–19 April 1444. Names, titles and the date are clearly readable in spite of the lack of diacritical dots.

This inscription may be sufficient proof of the fact that Vizye was in Ottoman hands in 1443/44 but we have more evidence on the mosque of Hasan Bey there. This is a Vakıfnâme of the Vakıf of Hasan Bey in Vizye of which only a later copy, dated H. 947 – 8 May 1540 – 26 April 1541 – is preserved and was published in facsimile by Tayyib Gökbiçgin.¹¹ According to an extract of this document, made by Gökbiçgin, Hasan Bey was a high dignitary of Sultan Murad II and had received the village of Kara-Bürçeklü near Hayrabolu in full property from the Sultan himself, which village he afterwards bestowed to the mosque (mescid) he had built in Vizye. Hasan died in a war, (most probably in the Battle of Varna, November 1444) after which his freed slave Ali bin Abdullah cared for the foundation and the Vakıfnâme drawn up and confirmed. The original document is most probably lost. The copy from 1540/41, however, is further evidence that Vizye also in the years shortly after 1444 remained in Turkish hands, and was so, as we tried to prove above, from 1422 onward to the end of Byzance in 1453 and continued being so up to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in our century.

⁹ See also the work of Ayverdi on pp. 570–572.

¹⁰ The inscription was read and translated by Dr. F. Th. Dijkema from Leiden for which I thank him most sincerely.

¹¹ Tayyib Gökbiçgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, part II, pp. 264–267.

POSTSCRIPT: In 1988 the mosque was in the same shape as in 1971, only minor works of maintenance being carried out. In the second line of the inscription the title of Hasan Bey is meant to be: al-Emir al-Kebir but in fact two letters (both alif) are missing (forgotten or haplography?). As it is now written we have to read: Mir-i Ekber, which is most unlikely and un-Arabic.

VI

A NOTE ON THE EXACT DATE OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE WHITE TOWER OF THESSALONIKI

To establish the definite date of construction and the identity of the founders—architects—of the famous White Tower of Thessaloniki, the Lefkos Pyrgos, is the aim of this short note. The huge tower, one of the most characteristic and popular architectural dominants of the city of St. Demetrius has been the subject of considerable misinterpretation as to the year in which it was built and by whom this was done. The various theories range between the early 13th century under the Latin Empire of Thessaloniki and the years of the Venetian occupation in the first half of the 15th century. Then we have also the little used statement of the 17th century Turkish author Evliya Çelebi who described the tower as an Ottoman Turkish work of the time of sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). In his still authoritative study on the topography of Thessaloniki the Rumanian scholar Tafrali¹ wrote that the Ottomans constructed two big towers very probably in the first years after their conquest of the city² (1430) and added that according to the local tradition the work was done by Venetian master builders³. The Venetian origin of the tower was more or less generally accepted⁴ and still figures as such in a publication of 1970⁵ and in a number of popular travel guides and tourist folders. Some decades after Tafrali the German expert of military architecture Bodo Ebhardt⁶

1. O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913.

2. «Ces deux bâtisses datent vraisemblablement des premier temps de la conquête» (Tafrali, p. 51).

3. Tafrali, p. 50.

4. As a exception more or less might be cited Hans Högg, *Türkenburgen an Bosporus und Hellespont, Ein Bild frühosmanischen Wherbaus bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Dresden 1932. On page 42 of this work he writes that the North Eastern corner tower of the wall of Thessaloniki (the Zincirli Kule) is most probably a Venetian work but did know that the White Tower was from the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (p. 44). He was certainly one of the few who used the work of Babinger about this matter (Babinger cited further on) which appeared two years before that of Högg. Unfortunately Högg does not mention his source and his work did not receive the attention it deserves.

5. By Michael Vickers in his «Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki», in *Balkan Studies* No 11. 2, Thessaloniki 1970, p. 261. However, in a letter of April '72 to the author of the present article Vickers expressed his uneasiness as to this point and asked for more information. This ultimately resulted in the study given here.

6. Bodo Ebhardt, *Der Wehrbau Europas im Mittelalter*, III, p. 696-697. This work was written in and before 1940 but appeared in 1958 in Oldenburg.

launched a much different theory. He connected the tower, and a number of other towers of much the same kind, with the Donjon of Aigues Mortes, the Crusaders port in the south of France, built in 1246. He therefore suggested an early date and attributed the tower to the short-lived Latin empire of Thessaloniki. However, the Venetian version remained the more popular.

It must be said to the credit of Franz Babinger¹ that he first recognised the true date and origine of the White Tower, but he did not further deepen his research in this question. He pronounced his views in a footnote in a study on Albania in the 17th century which was published in 1930 but escaped unnoticed by those working on the monuments of Thessaloniki. In fact the problem of the date of the tower needed not to become a problem at all if the proper sources were used. Already in the 17th century the Ottoman geographer-traveller Evliya Çelebi², namely, had noted the presence of an inscription above the gate of the tower. He gives a reading of the inscription, which mentions sultan Süleyman as founder and gives the date of construction as Hijra 942 = 1535/36. The inscription mentioned by Evliya is no longer extant. It disappeared in or after 1912 when the Ottomans were driven out of their Selanik. Babinger accepted the story of Evliya unreservedly as well as the note that the famous Ottoman architect Sinan was the builder of the tower and stated: Meine Bemerkungen über «Bauten Sinâns auf Griechische» Boden in *Praktica tis Akadimias Athinon*, IV. Bd. (Athen 1929), s. 15 ff. «möchte ich jedenfalls nunmehr auch auf den Weissen Turm ausdehnen»³. In his History of Thessaloniki, Apostolos Vacalopoulos⁴ also used vol. VIII of Evliya's Travelbook (*Seyâhatnâme*) and stated on the basis of data given there that the tower was built by sultan Süleyman between 1520 and 1566.

Both above-mentioned authors, who were doubtless on the right track, left out of question the many problems concerning the Travelbook of Evliya as a source for topography or history. After half a century on Evliya's research⁵ we know something more about this very remarkable author and the way he

1. Franz Babinger, «Ewlijâ Tschelebi's Reisewege in Albanien», published in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, XXXIII, Berlin 1930. Easier to consult in Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levant* II, München 1966, p. 73, note 4.

2. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. VIII, Istanbul 1928, p. 150.

3. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 73, note 4.

4. Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1963, p. 88. Unfortunately we could only use the English popular edition of this work. In the much larger and fully documented Greek version of this work are probably more details on this subject.

5. Reviewed in the article «Ewlijâ Çelebi» in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, by J. H. Mordtmann-H. W. Duda, pp. 717-720, Vol II, Leiden 1965, and Cavid Baysun, article Evlijâ Çelebi in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol IV, Istanbul 1945, p. 400 vv.

worked. It is generally known that Evliya needs to be checked whenever possible. In the case of the description of the sea walls of Thessaloniki this was done by Michael Vickers¹ who concluded that the information of Evliya was correct. We ourselves had the opportunity to compare some of the Ottoman inscriptions in Thessaloniki² (those of the Hamza Bey Mosque and the Kasimiye Cami) with the texts of these inscriptions as given by Evliya. Disregarding a few minor differences they are given in a remarkably correct manner, a fact which might also be noticed by a number of other inscriptions in various places on the Balkan peninsula 'published' by Evliya³. On the other hand there are also a large number of inscriptions which are given in a careless or even wrong manner with many mistakes⁴. Seen from this angle Evliya Çelebi can never be an absolute proof on certain questions without supplementary, independent evidence.

Encouraged and helped by Mr. Vickers of Oxford and Mr. Spieser from Athens we are now able to give the absolute proof on the problem of the date and the founder of the White Tower. This is an old photograph⁵ taken before 1912 and showing the gate of the tower with the now missing inscription immediately above it. The photograph was most probably made by Adolf Struck⁶ who carried out detailed geographical research in Macedonia in the last decades of the Turkish rule. The inscription is excellently readable but unfortun-

1. Michael Vickers, «The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki», *Balkan Studies* 11. 2, Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 261-280.

2. For these inscriptions see: M. Kiel, «Notes on the History of some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki and their founders», in *Balkan Studies* 11. 1, Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 123-156.

3. So for example in Serres where he gives a correct reading of the inscription of the Mosque of Mehmed Bey and a good but shortened (the verses 1 and 3 while omitting verse 2) of the Mustafa Pasha Mosque (*Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, p. 131). For these inscriptions see: Robert Anhegger, «Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serres», in *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 17, 1967, pp. 312-324, and M. Kiel, «Observations on the History of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule, Monuments of Komotini and Serres», *Balkan Studies* 12. 2, 1971, pp. 415-462.

4. So the inscription of the Yeni Cami of Bitola (Monastir) built in H. 959 by Kadi Mahmud Efendi but for which Evliya gives the date as H. 973. See: Hazim Sabanović, *Evlja Celebija Putopis odlomci o Jugoslovenskim Zemljama* II, Sarajevo 1957, pp. 57-58. On the Ottoman inscriptions of Edirne F.Th. Dijkema has a special work in preparation in which considerable attention will be devoted to the problem we are dealing with.

5. The photograph is preserved in the archives of the German Archeological Institute in Athens where it was recognised as possibly belonging to the White Tower of Thessaloniki by J. M. Spieser of the Ecole Française d'Athènes who was so kind to bring this to our knowledge. A copy of it was placed at our disposal by the German Institute. Both Mr. Spieser and the Institute should accept our warmest thanks for this fruitful cooperation.

6. A meaning expressed by J. M. Spieser in a letter to the present author of March '73.

ately the fifth line, containing the date was considerably damaged. However, just enough remains of the letters to control the version of Evliya on this critical point. The date is given by Evliya as «tokuz yüz kırk iki», nine hundred forty-two. «Kırk», forty, is largely readable on the photograph, the upper parts of the first letters of «iki» also. Only «tokuz yüz», nine hundred, is hardly if at all recognisable. Some evidence for the correctness of Evliya's reading of the date is that the words suit the metre. If we further compare the text of Evliya with the photograph of the inscription we may notice the close similarities between both. Evliya really copied the text and only made some minor mistakes. The greatest of these possibly is that he did not note the diacritical dots in the second word of the first line and hence writes Merdan instead of Maydân and writes Ejder instead of Ejde (Dragon) while adding a *r* where it is not¹. These details are of no importance as to our conclusion that Evliya literally copied the inscription. The mistakes may also go back to the editor and printers of the work as we could not check the original text which is in Istanbul. There are no grounds for looking for another date than the year nine hundred (tokuz yüz) which is spoiled on the inscription. Süleyman the Magnificent was really the «Salomon of his time»—Süleymân-i zamân—, his far predecessor Emir Süleyman (1402-1411) did not possess Thessaloniki and Süleyman II (1687-1691) reigned after Evliya Çelebi wrote. Therefore *Nine hundred forty-two* is the only possibility.

Here we shall give both the text and the transcription of this so important inscription² and add the photograph as evidence.

امرى ايله يابلوب بورج [٤] اسد اولدى تام	شیر مهدان حضرت سلطان سلیمان زمان
باره شور بو قلعه بورج [٥] اسد دینله نام	شیر پیکر اذردها طوبلرکه اطرافنده در
مجت پیغمبر آخر زمان [٦] — ٩٤٢	اولدی تاریخی طقوز یوز قرق ایکی بوقله نك

*Text of Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâme, Printed edition, Istanbul 1928,
Vol. 8, p. 150.*

1. In the printed edition of the *Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, p. 151, the words «ves-salâm» at the end of the last verse of the inscription are omitted but in note 6 of the same page is stated that these words do appear in three other manuscripts of the same work. According to the latest research of Richard Kreutel the manuscript Bağdat Köşkü 304 should be recognised as the original autograph of Evliya and used as such. See R. F. Kreutel, «Neues zur Evliyâ Çelebi-Forschung», *Der Islam* 48, 1971/72, pp. 268-279.

2. The reading, the transcription, the translation and the following remarks are by Mr. F. Th. Dijkema, Leiden. The text is in Turkish verse, metre: *remel*. The illegible parts are supplied from Evliyâ Çelebi and put between square brackets. In the second hemistich read *burc*, in the last one *peygamber*. Evliyâ's record concludes with *sene 942* («year 942»). It is not likely that this addition has figured in the parts of the inscription that are now damaged.

şir-i maydân hazret-i sultân süleymân-ı zamân
 emriyile yapılıp burc-ı esed oldı tamâm
 şir-i peyker ejdehâ toplar ki eṭrâfındadır
 yaraşur bu kulleye burc-ı esed olursa nâm
 [oldı târihi tokuz yüz kırk iki bu kulleni]ñ
 h[icre] t-i peygamber-i âhir-i zamândan ves-selâm.

In English translation this is:

At the order of the Lion of the (Battle-?) field, his Presence
 the Sultan, the Salomo (Süleyman) of his age, the Tower of
 the Lion was made and completed.
 The lion-faced dragon-guns that are on all its sides render
 «Lion Tower» a suitable name for this tower.
 The date of this tower was nine hundred forty-two (= 12
 July 1535 - 19 June 1536) since the Hijra of the mes-
 senger of the End of Time (Mohammed,) peace be
 (on Him).

The inscription is a characteristic example of an Ottoman 'Bauinschrift' and leaves no doubt that the tower was built from the foundations. Tafra¹ remarked that at this place there must have been a large tower which is mentioned by Eustathe of Thessalonique in the 12th century. The White Tower as it appears today might be regarded as an Ottoman re-building and strengthening of an older work. We should not think too much of the tradition of the Venetian workmen. The tower is a prominent example of a group of defensive works characteristic for the Ottoman military architecture precisely. The type emerged in the 15th century and was continued till about the middle of the 16th century when the improvement of the heavy siege gun induced the military architects to adapt their works to a new situation. In a detailed work on the walls of Thessaloniki, now in preparation², we hope to come back on the place of the White Tower in Ottoman military architecture and discuss the various related buildings both in Asia and the Balkans. As to the question of the architect we might believe, with Babinger, that Sinan was the builder.

In the year the tower was built Sinan was not yet nominated Chief Imperial Architect³ but still commanded the Royal Guard. Sufficient is known on his

1. Tafra¹, *Topographie*, p. 94.

2. By J. M. Spieser - Athens, with a collaboration of the present author. Photographs, plans and sections of the various parts will be given together with a comparative study of the related structure elsewhere.

3. For a short survey of his life and work see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, old edition, article

work as a military engineer. The White Tower was finished in 1536. Sinan is known to have built a similar tower in the Albanian port of Valona in 1537¹. He became Imperial Architect in 1538. In spite of the fact that the tower is not mentioned on the known lists of Sinan's works², basically the Tuhfetülmi'marin and the Tezkiretülebniye as well as some minor lists, this does not mean that he did not actually build the towers mentioned, as almost none of his military works from before 1538 are mentioned in the lists.

The reason the tower of Thessaloniki was built, or rebuilt, is without doubt the naval war with the Western Mediterranean powers in the third decade of the 16th century in which the Ottoman coastal dominions were frequently threatened (raid on Modon and capture of Koron in 1531, actions against Rhodes of Antonio Bosio and those against Dalmatian ports etc.). The tower commanded the entrance of the bay and covered the sea walls. Its construction might suggest that the Ottomans strengthened their flank before embarking on the Corfou Campaign of 1537 as otherwise their lines of communication could easily be cut by an expedition force disembarking in Thessaloniki. In this context we should remember that it was still before the Battle of Preveza (September 1538) in which Hayruddin Barbarossa defeated the joined Western fleets under Doria and lessened the pressure on the Ottoman coasts.

From a pawn in grim international conflicts the White Tower has become much of a symbol for the Thessaloniki of our time. As a work of art it is a remarkable piece of Ottoman military architecture of the first half of the 16th century about whose date of construction there is no longer need for doubt.

«Sinan» by Franz Babinger. For an exhaustive biography of Sinan in a Western language see: Ernst Egli, *Sinan, der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Zürich 1954. See also Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London 1971, especially pp. 197-202.

1. So according to Evliya Çelebi, see: Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and 75, which is a detailed source in this case. According to the contemporary sources of Sinan's life (see note 24) the great architect really took part in the Corfou campaign. According to the Diary of this expedition given by Hammer (Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanische Reiches* III, pp. 696-698) the Ottoman army under Süleyman was in Valona between 13 July-18 August. Sinan would have had ample time to survey the military situation and to give general instruction for the works on the castle of Valona.

2. The basic sources of Sinan's work, four works contemporary to him, were published in Latin characters transcription by Rifki Melül Meriç, *Mimar Sinan, Hayatı, Eseri*, Ankara 1965.

POSTSCRIPT

Since this was written there have been further studies on the date of construction of the White Tower. In a reaction to the present article Charalambos Bakirtsis concluded that the tower could not be Turkish because Evliya Çelebi wrote that the entrance of the White Tower was on the south-eastern (kıbla) side whereas in fact it is in the north. He attributed the tower to the Crusader kingdom of Boniface of Montferrat (first decade of the 13th century). Bakirtsis evidently overlooked the fact that Evliya also noted that the Chortiats Mountain overlooked the city in the North-West ('taraf-ı garbisi ve yıldız rüzgârı cänibinde yakın' Vol. VIII, p. 168 of printed edition), whereas the mountain is, and doubtless always was, situated to the East-Southeast. We are here confronted with the medieval world view, which was turned 90° from the real one. Thus many streets in Western European villages called 'West End' in fact run southward. Jean-Michel Spieser returned to the Venetian theory in spite of the inscription which he himself brought to light, and suggested a date around 1460/70 and the participation of Venetian masters.

Recently the American scholars Cecil Lee Striker and Peter Kuniholm conducted extensive dendrochronological research in the tower, which was restored through the care of the Greek Archeological Service of Thessaloniki. The tower is full of wood, preserved right up to the bark and structurally tied to the masonry. The year the trees were cut was 1535, the same as that mentioned in the inscription. The latest piece of evidence came in 1988, when the Greek team of restorers found, digging in front of the entrance of the tower, a fragment of an Ottoman inscription containing the letters: '. . . tån Süileymâ . . .'. They immediately recognised it as part of line one of the inscription published here. The matter thus remains as it was: the tower was built in 1535 by the order of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.

On the question of who was responsible for its design and actual construction, the Ottoman archives yielded some interesting materials pointing in the direction in which we should look (cf. Introduction).

Among the new literature we mention:

—Charalambos Bakirtsis, 'I thallassia ohirosi tis Thessalonikis', *Vizantina* VII (1975), pp. 291–334.

—Vasilis Demetriadis, *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epohi tis Tourkokratias 1430–1912* (Thessaloniki, 1983).

—Heath Lowry, 'Portrait of a City, The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the year 1478' *Diptiha* II (1980), pp. 254–295.

—J.P. Braun, N. Faucherre, J.M. Spieser, 'La Tour Blanche et la Tour du Trigonion de Thessalonique', in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* XI (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 269–270.

The final report on the research by Striker and Kuniholm has not yet appeared. The date of 1478, which they gave in their report of 1983 (*Journal of Field Archeology* 10/4 [Winter 1983], p. 416), was a 'floating date' not based on the final year rings in the sapwood. The sapwood dates in the White Tower wood were found later.

At p. 354, n. 4: The work on the Ottoman epigraphy of Edirne announced in this note appeared as: F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman Historical, Monumental Inscriptions of Edirne* (Leiden, 1977).

VII

SOME EARLY OTTOMAN MONUMENTS IN BULGARIAN THRACE

Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra), Jambol and Nova Zagora
(Zağra Yenicesi)¹

The five centuries, in which the Bulgarian lands were included within the frontiers of the Ottoman empire, left deep traces behind, some of which are still visible today. Among these is the architectural heritage which has been tremendously rich. The vicissitudes of the extremely agitated history of the past hundred years caused the majority of the Ottoman monuments to disappear, but the number of those preserved is still considerable, and among them are works of the greatest quality which shed ample light on some important phases of the development of this architecture. Our knowledge of the Ottoman Turkish monuments of architecture in the Bulgarian lands is far from complete, partly due to the relatively late date in which Bulgarian science began to realise their value, partly of the difficulty to Western and Turkish scholars to travel the land extensively. A general work covering all existing Ottoman-Turkish monuments in Bulgaria does not exist as yet and will take much pain-staking labour to produce. In this modest contribution we do not endeavour to give a full list of existing buildings nor wish to mention all literature in Bulgarian, in Turkish or in other languages concerning these monuments but merely pick out a few important works of Early-Ottoman art which have remained largely unknown and unstudied until now². At the

¹ The materials for this article were collected during several journeys in Bulgaria between 1967 and 1971 which were made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Scientific Research (Z.W.O.) The Hague, and a generous gift of the Prince Bernhard Amsterdam.

² Just after finishing this study Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi published his second volume of *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1972, part 2, first half of the 15th century, in which the mosque of Hamza Bey in Stara Zagora is discussed briefly and a plan is given. Ayverdi, however, could not see the interior of the mosque and had to leave it unstudied. Also he could not give the important inscription. The great Eski Cami of Jambol he omits entirely.

same time the monuments we are going to discuss are destined to disappear with the progressive modernisation of the Bulgarian towns, unless measures are undertaken to save them.

STARA ZAGORA

Stara Zagora, the Ottoman Eski Zağra, at present a modern industrial town of some 88.000 inhabitants³, lies on gently sloping grounds against the foothills of the Sredna Gora Mountains on the extreme northern end of the Thracian Plain. Its foundation goes back to Antiquity. In the earlier middle ages it was an important fortress on the Bulgarian-Byzantine frontier which changed hands frequently. Stara Zagora became part of the Ottoman empire in the early sixties of the 14th century⁴, immediately after the conquest of Edirne and Plovdiv (Filibe). In the beginning of the 16th century it counted roughly 500 households⁵, all Muslims without Christians⁶. Evliya Çelebi⁷ described as a fair city with 3.000 houses, 47 mosques, 5 imarets and a massive bedesten. The author noted the presence of a great number of learned men, poets and members of the Islamic brotherhoods. The empire lost the city in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78 during which Stara Zagora was burned down and destroyed⁸.

Hamza Bey or Eski Cami, 1408/09

The only Ottoman-Turkish building of Stara Zagora which escaped wars and destruction is the Eski Cami, the Old Mosque. This building constitutes the sole memory of the time the city was a

³ Kratka Bălgarska Ençiklopedija vol 4, p. 622, Sofia 1967.

⁴ Franz Babinger, Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien, Brünn-München-Wien 1444, pp. 49-50, and Halil Inalcik in Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol I, Leiden 1960, p. 1302.

⁵ So on the map of Ömer Lütfi Barkan in his "Les deportations comme methode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman", in: Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul, Istanbul 1953, No 11, 1-4.

⁶ Some Christians must have lived in the city but they are not marked on the map of Barkan as their numbers were too small.

⁷ In the translation of H.J. Kissling, Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXII, 3, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 27/28

⁸ On the destruction of Stara Zagora of 1877 see: Constantin Jiricek, Das Fürstentum Bulgarien, Prag-Wien-Leipzig 1891, pp. 389-393.

religious and cultural centre of the Turkish Islam. It stands in the very centre of the modern city. Until 1971 it was situated in a side alley of the Main Street, whose environs are now changed to be rebuilt according to new concepts of city planning.

The mosque and the adjacent portico forms one solid block of 19.53 - 27.24 metres. On the front side the building appears low and heavy. This impression is caused by the enormous size of the dome and because the building has sunk in the terrain on that side. On the side of the mihrab wall the site has not changed very much, and there we can see the mosque in its original imposing proportions. The two main elements of the mosque, the prayer hall proper and the portico, are of unusual form and size. The hall is an imperfect square which measures internally 16.49 from one lateral wall to the other and 17.47 metres from the Kibla wall to the Mihrab wall. This vast interior space is covered by one huge dome. The transition between the square and circular base of the dome is affected by four large squinches of primitive form. In order to enable the walls to carry the weight of the dome, they have been made rather thick: 1.55 m. The squinches sit very low. Eight pointed arches of roughly the same size support the dome and divide its pressure on the wall sections. The arches do not rest on pilasters but spring directly from the walls. The interior is lit by a series of three windows in the walls, two in the lower and one in the upper section of them, and by twelve windows in the tambour of the dome. All windows have been transformed or enlarged in later periods. Some are even blocked now. These in the tambour are oval at present but must originally have been round and much smaller, resembling the ones still preserved in Jambol. That the oval windows have been cut through the masonry, is perceivable when we examine them closely.

The form of the outer portico of the mosque as it was originally is also an element which calls for special attention. Its forms have been spoiled by various repairs and transformations that the building has sustained in various periods, but the original form is easy to reconstruct as all elements are preserved. It has not the common form of three or five domed sections, as was usual since the second half of the 15th century. It has two fairly big domes on both sides of the central unit, which latter is considerably narrower, an archaic feature. Another archaic feature, which ties this mosque to older traditions in Ottoman

architecture, is the double colonnade at both sides of the portico. Two square pillars of brick masonry, 0.95 m. thick, support each lateral side. The front of the portico has six pillars with five round arches, supporting the three-domed sections. Thus the lateral domes are supported by two rounded arches on each side whilst the central section has only one arch. This latter part is vaulted by a small dome which rests partly on arches and partly on double stalactite pendentives which fill the remaining part of the rectangular space. Today only the coarse brick basis of the stalactite work remains, the fine plaster work has apparently fallen off or was removed during one of the successive repairs. During one of these repairs the open arches were blocked with masonry, only some were left partially open as well as a number of windows. During a later repair these openings were also closed.

The minaret of the mosque is placed on a rather awkward place, on top of the walls, at the point where the portico begins. Its entrance is from the inside of the prayer hall. In its present form it is doubtless of later date, being the product of one of the many repairs. The place where it has been built and the manner in which this has been done suggests that it was no part of the original design but was a later addition. Congregational mosques without a minaret are occasionally met in Early Ottoman architecture.

The walls of the mosque are made of very coarse cloisonné work, sometimes not even recognisable as such. The rough broken stone of which it is made is placed with its most smooth face to the exterior, and thin bricks are placed around the blocks, often haphazardly. The eight square pillars of the portico and the round arches above them are executed with more care. They are entirely built up of thin bricks, 3 - 3.1/2 cm. thick, with joints varying in thickness between 2.1/2 - 4 cm. The overall impression of the exterior of the mosque is that of a solid robustness though not very elegant. The deep spring of the arches and the dome are not directly visible on the outside. The tambour is kept relatively low. It is twenty-four sided and placed asymmetrically on the square base. The masonry of the tambour is of better quality than that of the lower parts of the mosque, being carried out in alternative layers of brick and cut stone. This difference between the upper and the lower part of the building is also a feature which is not too unusual. It can be found on many other buildings from

before and after the Stara Zagora mosque and does not necessarily mean two different periods of construction. With the Eski Cami this was certainly not the case.

Mention has been made of the various repairs of the mosque. The major one must have taken place in the latter part of the 18th century, when the building was changed to meet the different tastes of that period. To it must be attributed the oval baroque windows in the tambour, the enlargement of the lower windows and the overall painted decoration of the interior in baroque style. The simple mahfil is also from that period. The transformation of the portico is likewise of late date. Today the place for the ritual washing has been accommodated inside, a feature which is rather common in Bulgaria, as is the closing of the once open porticos on many other mosques.

From the notes left by Evliya Çelebi we know that this mosque was the largest of the city, situated in the heart of the Çarşı and always full of people. According to the same author there was no other mosque as big as this one. The enormous dome was covered with lead, as it is in our days. Evliya attributes the mosque to Hamza Bey, one of the emirs in the time of Musa Çelebi, son of Yıldırım Han. The date given in the printed edition of the work of Evliya is 700 H., which is a mistake. In fact the mosque of Hamza Bey was built in H. 811 (27.5.1408 - 15.5.1409) by the Emir Hamza Bey, during the rule of Emir Süleiman. The names, titles and the date are given in the inscription which remains preserved above the entrance of the prayer hall. This inscription was read by Babinger before World War II⁹, but this author unfortunately gave only a partial translation of it and some suggestions to identify Hamza Bey. In our reading it runs as follows¹⁰:

(١) قال النبي عليه السلام من بلى لله مسجداً بلى الله
له بيتاً في الجنة تم انشاء هذا المسجد المبارك أيام
دولة السلطان الخطير المؤيد المظفر سلطان

⁹ Babinger, Frühgeschichte p. 8 note 36.

¹⁰ The decipherment of this very difficultly readable inscription is the result of the joined efforts of Prof. Dr. Halil Inalcık of Ankara, and Drs. Fokke Dijkema of Leiden for which I thank them most sincerely. All eventual mistakes in transcription and translation are of-course for account of the author of these pages. There must be a complete Bulgarian translation of this inscription, made by Ibrahim Tatarli, which unfortunately could not be used for this article.

(٢) الاسلام والمسلمين ظل الله تعالى على العالمين

حداوندگار الامير سليمان بن بايزيد ابن مراد

خان حلد الله سلطان

(٣) الامير الخطير ظل الله في الارض جلال الدولة والدين

حمزة بك ادام الله دولته ووقع الفراغ من بناية في

نهاية العام احد عشر وثمانمائة

- 1) The Prophet – Peace be upon Him – has said: “He, who builds a mosque for God, for him builds God a house in Paradise.” The construction of this blessed mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the important sultan, supported and rendered invincible by God, sultan
- 2) of Islam and of the muslims, shadow of God – who is exalted – over the worlds, sovereign, amir Süleyman, son of Bayazid, son of Murad Khan, may God render his power eternal.
- 3) The important amir, shadow of God on earth, splendour of worldly power and of religion, Hamza Bey, may God prolong his reign. The completion of its building took place in the end of the year 811.

The titles of the founder of the mosque as given in the third line of the inscription; “Al-amir al-khaṭir zill allah fi al-ard... djalal addawlat wa'd-din.” These words are, according to Babinger, a possible indication of the royal descent of Hamza Bey. He could have been a son of Izmiroğlu Cuneid Bey, or else was the son of Firuz Bey, one of the leaders of the conquest of N.W. Bulgaria under Yıldırım. Another possibility may be that of Bicerzade Hamza Bey, Beylerbey under Mehmed I.; but we prefer to leave this problem a subject for further research. In any case, our Hamza Bey was one of the most important men of this time and judging by his mosque in Stara Zagora, a promoter of architecture.

As a work of art, the mosque in question strongly reminds us of the Yıldırım Bayazid Mosque of the Western Anatolian town of Mudurnu, built in the last decades of the 14th century¹¹.) In Mudurnu we see the same dominating role of the dome which is even greater than in Stara Zagora. (The respective sizes of the domes are 19.65 m, as against 17.47.) The system of transition is the same in both mosques. The portico is organised along the same principles as followed in the

¹¹ For this building see: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Mudurnu'da Yıldırım Bayazid Manzûmesi ve Taş Vakfiyesi*, *Vakıflar Dergisi* V, pp. 79-86, and Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman architecture*, Chicago-London 1968, pp. 40-41.

Bulgarian mosque. By comparing both mosques, we notice, that the younger Hamza Bey Mosque has developed the concept of Mudurnu further. The extremely heavy forms of Mudurnu, caused by the inability to bring the large dome in accordance with the square substructure, has been more or less avoided in Stara Zagora. Externally, the body of the mosque is considerably higher and the tambour much lower than at Mudurnu, although the same elements of transition, squinches of the same kind, have been used. Nevertheless, in the interior, the weight bearing parts are still heavy and rather low. The Hamza Bey Mosque clearly demonstrates the growing experience and technical ability of the Early-Ottoman architects. As such, it marks an important stage in the development of that architecture and above all, is a proof of the importance of "Rumili". The European provinces (especially Bulgaria and Macedonia) were vital parts of the Empire during its formation. There new experiments were made which contributed greatly to the development of what has become specifically Ottoman. Certainly until the end of the 15th century the towns in Bulgaria and Macedonia were not provincial, but constituted centres which developed their own ideas. The same might be seen in other works in the old "Rumili", such as the Imaret Cami of Plovdiv¹² which stands comparison with the best contemporaneous works in Edirne, Bursa or Amasya, the splendid hamam of Murad II in Thessaloniki¹³ or the Cami-i Kebir of Yannitsa - Yenice Vardar¹⁴, to mention but a few examples. When discussing the Eski Cami of Jambol, we will return to this tendency.

The architectural development of the Eski Cami of Stara Zagora may lead us to revise some ideas expressed in earlier works. In his

¹² As long as the work of Nikola Muschanov, who restored this mosque and carried out interesting investigations is not published, we still have to use the now outdated work of C. Rudloff-Hille and O. Rudloff, *Die Stadt Plovdiv und ihre Bauten*, in *Izvestija Bălgarski Arheologičeski Institut*, VIII, 1934. (also cited as *Bull. de Institut Arch. Bulg.*)

¹³ This hamam still has its original inscription from Murad II, which was published by the author of this pages in his "Notes on the history of some Turkish monuments in Thessaloniki and their founders" in *Balkan Studies* 111, Thessaloniki 1970 pp. 126-156. The results of the study of the architecture of this splendid bath, made by the author in 1972 will be published on another occasion.

¹⁴ For the Ottoman monuments of Yannitsa - Yenice Vardar see: M. Kiel, *Yenice Vardar, a forgotten Turkish cultural centre in Macedonia*, in *Byzantina Neerlandica* II, Leiden 1972.

instructive work "The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture" Aptullah Kuran put forward the idea that the mosque of Mudurnu was the outcome of an experiment, which was not regarded as successful by the early Ottomans and "was never repeated again".¹⁵ Such absolute statements are always dangerous, keeping in mind our poor state of knowledge of the architectural richness of Anatolia. The little-known mosque of Stara Zagora is by itself proof enough, that the experiments with huge single-domed buildings did not stop with Mudurnu. As seen from a wider angle, both mosques must be regarded not as the beginning, but rather as the result, of a development in mosque architecture which started much earlier. So for example, we have the mosque of Ahmad Gazi in Eski Çine, in the territory of the former Menteşe Beylik which, according to its *Vakıfnâme*, was built in 1308.¹⁶ This mosque is about the same size as that of Stara Zagora (a square of 19.50 m with a dome of more than 17 m internally, and the system of transition is about the same as in the Bulgarian mosque. It is known that on the territory of the Western Anatolian Beyliks interesting experiments in architecture took place in the entire 14th century. The mosque of Eski Çine bears ample witness of it. The extent of our knowledge of the monuments of Anatolia does not allow us to say if there are more works of the same type which fill the space of time between 1308 and about 1390 (Mudurnu), but it appears logical that there are such works, or in any case have been, which are lost now. The same can be said of large single-domed mosques built after Stara Zagora, which further continued the trend. Eski Çine, Mudurnu and Stara Zagora mark a steady and unbroken development and improvement of the type of a large single-domed mosque. At the same time this group of buildings, of which more examples should be found, at once mark the limits of the possibilities with single-domed mosques. Even the great works of Sinan belonging to the same group, built in a time when techniques had developed much further, rarely surpass the size of the three early works mentioned above.

The early presence of a dominant mosque type, as those under discussion, also questions the views put forward by Kuran,

¹⁵ Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman Arch.* p. 206.

¹⁶ See: *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler I*, Ankara 1972, pp. 679-683.

regarding the original meaning and real cause of the emergence of the Zaviye-Mosque (or T-plan mosque, to use the older but generally understood term). Essentially these views explain the emergence of the T-plan as an aesthetic necessity; to have a dominant building as focal point of a Külliye. As dominant a single-unit mosque and a Zaviye were combined to form together one monumental building, because the single-unit mosque alone, with a dome not exceeding 10-11 m, was insufficient for such a purpose.¹⁷ This explanation certainly has much attraction, but in our view Kuran misses the point regarding a T-plan building as a combination of mosque and Zaviye, when in fact it was only zaviye, which of course cannot be imagined without a place of prayer. The last word in this matter has certainly not been said yet. In any case both mosques, in Eski Çine and in Stara Zagora, demonstrate that the technical ability of the Turkish architects of the 14th and the 15th centuries was great enough to create an architectural dominant by using the single-domed mosque. This indirectly supports the theory of Semavi Eyice as regards the origin and function of the much discussed T-plan.¹⁸ The mosque of Ilyas Bey of Menteşe in Balat - Miletus - built in 1403, which has a dome of 14 metres, might be cited as a definite example of a single-domed mosque as focus of a Külliye.

In spite of its extraordinary importance in the field of Ottoman architecture the great mosque of Stara Zagora is not in good state of preservation. It has been declared "Monument of Culture" by the Bulgarian state, but at present its further existence is in direct danger. There are plans to remove it in view of the modernisation of the city centre which is now in the process of being carried out. It may be hoped, and expected of the Bulgarian authorities in charge, that they will undertake sufficient measures to protect this valuable building from being demolished. If we remember the great works of restoration and conservation on a number of Ottoman monuments in Bulgaria, of which some have only a very moderate architectural merit, in cities as Vidin, Plovdiv, Karlovo, Dupnica, Samokov and other places, we may certainly expect that one of the most valuable

¹⁷ Kuran, *The Mosque*. . . p. 207.

¹⁸ Semavi Eyice, *İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dinî-İçtimaî bir Mînessesi: Zâviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler*, in: *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, No 18, 1962/63, pp. 1-80.

of all Ottoman works, that of Stara Zagora, will be saved for later generations. Furthermore the restoration of the Bayrakli Cami at Samokov shows to everyone how successfully ancient monuments combine with modern city centres and in this particular case greatly add to the charm of the place.

*

JAMBOL, Eski Cami

Although not of the same direct urgency as in Stara Zagora, in Jambol we are confronted with the same problems of restoration and conservation of a very important, though almost unknown, work of Ottoman architecture.

Jambol is the Diampolis of the Byzantine middle ages, during which time it played much the same role as Stara Zagora, defending the Bulgaro-Byzantine frontier.¹⁹ That the later part of the above-mentioned period was not the most prosperous of the long history of Thrace may be deduced from the fact that the Ottomans had to repopulate the land almost entirely²⁰ since their conquest in the sixties of the 14th century.²¹

Jambol is situated in the northern part of the Thracian Plain in a bend of the Tundja (Tunca) River. It was part of the Ottoman empire without interruption from about 1368 to 1878. Evliya Çelebi²² describes Jambol as a Muslim city composed of 17 Muslim mahalles and one Jewish and one Greek mahalle each. It counted 17 mosques, 3 medresses, 3 hamams, 4 hans and an incomparable bedesten. Today Jambol is a fast growing industrial centre which is in the course of general modernisation. Of the Ottoman monuments only two have been preserved, both situated on the Main Square of the city, giving

¹⁹ Constantin Jiricek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgariens* pp. 505/506.

²⁰ On the repopulation of Thrace see for example Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumili'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiân*, Istanbul 1957, and Münir Aktepe, *XIV ve XV. Asırda Türkler Tarafından İskânına Dair*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* X, 1951, pp. 290-312. See also the general but very correct description of this period by Jiricek, *Fürstentum* pp. 48-5h.

²¹ Babinger, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 50-51 and Inalcik in *E. I.* new edition, p. 1302, where the date is given as 1368.

²² Kissling, *Beiträge-Thrakiens*, pp. 76-77.

it a particular flavour of its own. They are the "Incomparable bedesten" mentioned by Evliya and the Eski Cami, the Old Mosque. The bedesten is without exaggeration the most monumental Ottoman civil work preserved in Bulgaria. It is in restoration today and under the hands of very able architect Nikola Muschanov from the Institute of Cultural Monuments of Sofia, will regain its ancient splendour. A general restoration is also needed for the Eski Cami, nearby. This mosque forms a large rectangle of 29.11 m - 21.35 m which is divided into ten vaulted sections of different shape and function. The interior gives the impression of a central dome with lateral spaces, not unlike the Şerefeli Cami at Edirne. In fact this is only partially the case. The mosque of Jambol has a central dome of 10.65 m which rests on the mihrab wall, on the rear wall of the portico and on the lateral sides on two pointed arches each, which arches rest on a rectangular pier of 1.55 - 0.92 m. The lateral thrust of the dome on both flanks is taken over by an arch which at the same time supports part of the vaults of the side naves. These parts of the building are now sealed off from the central section of the mosque by walls of inferior workmanship, clearly dating from the last century. The lateral spaces do not consist of the vaulted units each, as should be expected, but are formed of three equal parts on both sides of the central dome and are covered by ribless crossvaults. Two sections project far beyond the central space with which they have hardly any relation. The central section and the two projecting aisles enclose a rectangular space in which a kind of portico, son cemaat yeri, has been accommodated. This portico in turn is also divided into three equal sections, each covered by a cradle vault. In the front side of the mosque these sections are supported by two heavy piers. On the outside the mosque appears as one solid block covered by series of nearly identical lead-covered domes. In the middle the central domed section rises slightly above the succession of lateral vaults. As this dome rests on very solid arches and pilastres, which in the upper part are finished as a low square with a cornice, the tambour of the dome on top of it recedes considerably. The tambour is dodecagonal and pierced by four circular windows. Above it the lead-covered dome rises, finished with an alem and crescent.

Besides the general lay-out and the placing of the portico (inside the building, instead of preceding it), the minaret of the mosque constitutes an unusual feature. It rises at the corner of the prayer

hall where the portico and the aisles meet, inside the block. It has a square form up to the height of the top of the dome. Then follows the balcony and a circular upper part with the usual conical cap. This "square, towerlike minaret" was already noted by Evliya Çelebi²³ in the mid-17th century and is doubtless part of the original design. It cannot be ascertained whether the upper part of this minaret is also original or a product of later restorations, which brought it more in accordance with the general trend. This minaret, of which kind I do not know other in Ottoman architecture, can have derived from two sources, Syrian and South-Eastern Anatolian. An example of a Syrian type of minaret within the frontiers of the Republic of Turkey is that of the Ommayad Mosque of Harran, south of Urfa, most probably built by Khalif Marwan II between 744 - 755 A.D.²⁴ In South - Eastern Turkey, the Diyarbakir - Mardin region, a number of similar minarets are known dating from various epochs²⁵. The minaret of Jambol might be explained by the explicit wish of the founder of the mosque to have such a minaret, maybe pointing to the land of his origin, or in another way demonstrating his contacts with the old lands of Islam. One might also suppose more or less direct influence from Syria of Sout-East Anatolia, then outside the Ottoman realm, but if we accept such an influence, it would be likely to see it reflected also in the plan and set-up of the mosque. This however, is purely Ottoman.

The structure of the walls of the Eski Cami of Jambol is unfortunately hardly visible. Somewhere in the last century the entire building was heavily plastered over and painted in soft green. Babinger, who visited the mosque before World War II, was still able to read a now faded inscription which mentions that the mosque was painted by Aşcızâde Ahmad in H 1247 (1831/32)²⁶. To these works we must certainly attribute the semi-baroque paintings in the interior of the mosque. The form of the windows was considerably changed at that date. In this way the mosque has changed so much that Babinger

²³ Kissling, Beiträge p. 76.

²⁴ For this mosque see: K.A.C. Creswell, A short account of Early Muslim Architecture, (Pelican edition) 1958, pp. 151-155.

²⁵ See Metin Sözen, Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi, Istanbul 1971.

²⁶ Babinger, Beiträge Frühgeschichte p. 50 note 59.

mistook it for uninteresting²⁷. Investigations of Nikola Moushanov²⁸ made clear that the building was made of cloisonné work of a rather disorderly kind. Beneath the plaster the original cornice of 'dent de scie' finishing the walls has been preserved in several places. In the interior of the mosque the original mihrab of fine stalactite plaster work has been preserved but is covered by ugly 19th century paintings. At present only the domed central section of the mosque serves as place of prayer for the small Muslim community of Jambol. The lateral spaces are sealed off by thin walls of recent origin. Some workshops and a storehouse have been accommodated in the side rooms. On the outside the proportions of the mosque are spoiled by an office which has been built directly against the mosque. The original 'son cemaat yeri' is also walled, leaving only a small entrance to the mosque. Structurally the building is very well preserved. If the dividing walls and other 19th century additions were removed and the plaster taken off, the city of Jambol would gain a highly valuable historical monument.

The date of the very important mosque of Jambol can only be established by comparing it with other works of about the same time. No inscription bearing the date or the name of the founder has been preserved. Evliya Çelebi attributed it to an Ebu Bekir Pasha or Bey²⁹. Locally it is said to be between 500 and 600 years old which is certainly correct. The general form and the style of the work brings us to the first half of the 15th century. The plan contains the vital elements which were to be found in Üç Şerefeli Cami of Edirne. This work was begun in 1437, as is known. With the Rumilian capital so near we cannot expect that the Jambol mosque was built after Edirne, but must certainly be a decade or more before. As regards general concept and organisation of space, the Bulgarian mosque is closely related to the Ulu Cami of the Central Anatolian city of Uşak, built shortly before H. 822-1419³⁰, when this city was still part of the Germiyan

²⁷ The same p. 50, note 59 "Jambol... hat, wie ich mich in 1938 erneut durch Augenschein überzeugen konnte, *keinerlei bemerkenswerte Baudenkmähler der Osmanische Vergangenheit bewahrt*". This comment first of all shows in what a deplorable state the Ottoman monuments of Jambol were at the time of Babingers visits.

²⁸ Not published yet, verbal communication.

²⁹ Kissling Beiträge, pp. 76-77.

³⁰ Mahmut Akok, Uşak Ulu Camii, in: Vakıflar Dergisi III, Ankara 1956, pp 69-72.

Beylik. The main difference with Uşak is the place of the 'son cemaat yeri,' in Jambol between the two extremities of the aisles, in Uşak in front of the building. The place occupied in Jambol by the 'son cemaat yeri' is in Uşak covered by a barrel vault and the open space beneath this vault is integrated with the domed prayer hall, whereas in Jambol it is sealed off from it. Another difference is the use of domes over the lateral spaces. These are, however, minor details in view of the close likeness of both mosques. In my opinion we have to place the Eski Cami of Jambol between the Ulu Cami of Uşak and the Üç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne, which would mean that it is built in the twenties of the 15 th century.

In a brilliant study of Early Ottoman architecture Robert Anhegger³¹ traced the origin of the Üç Şerefeli Cami back to the major work of the Saruhan Beylik of the second half of the 14th century, the Ulu Cami of Manisa, thereby correcting older views. Mosques like that of Uşak and Jambol show, that experiments with a central domed building with vaulted lateral spaces were already made before the Üç Şerefeli Cami, preparing the road for it in some way. On the other hand, another source of the plan may have had some influence on its emergence. We mean the experiments with transverse prayer halls, covered with a large dome and lateral vaulted sections as were made in the Ortokid lands in South-Eastern Anatolia. The Ulu Cami of Dünaysir - Kızıltepe³² and the Ulu Cami of Mardin³³ might be cited as early (12th - 13th century) examples. The city of Mardin still has a number of mosques built after the above mentioned type, for example the Latifiye Cami from H (772=1370/71)³⁴, or the Reyhaniye Cami from the end of the 15th century³⁵, which would indicate that the type was familiar there. The city of Diyarbakir has a

³¹ Robert Anhegger, Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte II, Die Üç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne und die Ulu Cami in Manisa, in: Istanbul Mitteilungen VIII, 1958, pp. 40-45.

³² For this building see: Albert Gabriel, Voyages Archeologiques dans la Turquie Orientale, Paris 1940. For a complete plan of this mosque, after the excavations in the Sahn see: Ara Altun, Mardin'de Türk devri mimarisi, Istanbul 1971, plan on P. 145.

³³ See Gabriel-Voyages and Altun, Mardin'de (pp. 29-41).

³⁴ Altun, Mardin'de, pp. 46-49.

³⁵ Altun, Mardin'de, pp. 57-59

number of even more outspoken examples of the type, both from before and after the famous Edirne mosque. The influence exercised by this group of monuments must by no means be underrated. In Eastern Anatolia the type of mosque appears to go back to the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir itself, after it had been rebuilt by the Great Seljuk sultan Malik Shah, in which rebuilding the Syrian Ommayyad tradition was followed. The Ulu Cami at Manisa and that of Aydinoğlu Isa Bey at Ephesus - Selçuk - are both influenced by Syrian works, possibly directly by way of Damascus and Halep. Experiments in the Germiyan Beylik, and as we saw also under the Ottomans in Rumili may have been influenced by both sources, blending the experiences gathered in Eastern as well as in Western Anatolia. The strange minaret of Jambol points to Ortokid influence but is no proof in its self. Whatever the case may be, it seems safe to state that the mosque in the Bulgarian city of Jambol occupies a place of great importance in preparing the emergence of the Üç Şerefeli Cami, which building marks a turning point in Ottoman architecture and precluded the great centrally planned mosques of the 16th century. It also bears witness to the importance of the building activity outside the capital cities of the state, to the importance of Rumili in Ottoman architecture. An importance which we only now begin to realise but which by no means should be underrated. As such, the mosque of Jambol deserved better care.

NOVA ZAGORA (Zağra Yenicesi)

Mosque of Sarica Pasha and Hamam of Hadim Ali Pasha

Some words should be added in this context concerning two early works of Ottoman architecture in Bulgarian Thrace, not so much because of their value in the development of this architecture as important as the two preceding buildings, but because they are doomed to disappear with the modernisation of the town. We mean the Sarica Pasha Mosque and the hamam of Grand Vezir Hadım Ali Pasha opposite it in the town of Nova Zagora.

The origin of Nova Zagora goes back to the first years of the Ottoman rule in Bulgaria.³⁶ The town lies in the plains about half-way

³⁶ According to the *Kratka Istorija na Bălgarskata Arhitektura*, Sofia 1965, p. 600 Nova Zagora emerged between the 16th and 18th century. According to the *Kratka Bălgarskata Enĉiklopedija III*, Sofia 1966 Nova Zagora arose in the 15th

between Zagora and Jambol, some miles south of the first folds of the Sredna Gora Mountains. Evliya Çelebi³⁷ describes it as a place consisting of 7 mahalles with 7 mosques, 3 hans, a hamam and 150 shops, details which point to a relatively modest town for that time. Evliya also mentions the names of the most important of these buildings: the mosque of Sarıca Pasha on the Main Street, that of Ömer Gürçi near the market and the hamam of Ali Pasha. Of the buildings mentioned that of Ömer Gürçi has disappeared together with all the other works, leaving the hamam and the mosque of Sarıca Pasha the only monuments of Ottoman times. At present Nova Zagora is a minor town without much character, counting some 20.000 inhabitants including a minor Turkish community of families.

The mosque of Sarıca Pasha stands on a corner of the Kiril and Methodije Street and the Kâncu Tsanov Street, where at present is the northern part of the town. The mosque has completely lost its original appearance, the minaret was destroyed during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78 when the entire town was burned. A modest wooden construction serves as minaret at the moment. On the outside, all the old masonry is covered by a clamp of ugly machine-made bricks and the roof is a construction of after 1878. The mosque is a rectangle of 13.40-9.70 metres inside, covered by a flat wooden tavan of recent origin. There are five windows on each lateral wall and two in the mihrab wall. The mosque is preceded by a wooden portico of light construction. As a whole, the building gives the impression of a 19th century work but in fact is early 15th century. The Turkish inhabitants of the place remembered quite well the original coarse cloisonné work of brick and stone, now hidden behind the ugly covering. They also remembered a number of details concerning the founder of the mosque, Sarıca Pasha. The building was 560 years old according to their statements. This is very well possible. Other details given by them concerned the mosque of the Pasha in Kazanlık, 60 km west of Nova Zagora. The mosque of Nova Zagora was the

century on the place of a Slavic settlement called Janitsa which name was changed to Jenice-i Zagra by the Turks. The Ottoman documents published by Gökbilgin in *Edirne ve Paşa Livası* concerning this place prove its existence in the early 15th century. Babinger, *Frühgeschichte* p. 50, mentions the foundation of a new town, "der Gründung einer Neustadt".

³⁷ By Kissling, *Beiträge Thrakiens*, pp. 26-27.

largest of the two, built by the Pasha. This last statement can no longer be checked as the other building was demolished long ago.

The name of Sarıca Pasha brings us back to the years of the Ottoman conquest and colonisation of the Balkans under Murad I and Bayazid I and all the great historical events of that time. Which of the several men bearing the name of Sarıca Pasha I prefer to leave out of question³⁸. Several documents have been preserved of a Sarıca Pasha and his son Umur Bey who founded a number of buildings in Nova Zagora and Kazanlık³⁹. This man was active in the first decade(s) of the 15th century, which fits perfectly with the statement of the local Turkish inhabitants of the town that their mosque is 560 years old. Thus 1410 or a few years before that will be the date of construction.

At present there are plans to raze the entire area around the mosque, including it, and to build a large modern bus-station on the spot. The great historical value of the mosque is not recognised yet in Bulgaria, certainly helped by the unpleasant appearance of the building as it is today. In view of its great antiquity and the importance of its founder as a historical personality, the building should at least be spared. As soon as possible investigations about its original outlook should be made, and a general restoration, as has been carried out in so many places in Bulgaria.

As a work of architecture the mosque of Sarıca Pasha at Nova Zagora, in the form it had before the transformations after the fire of the last century, must have been related with the group of wood-covered mosques found all over Anatolia since Seljuk times. The entire concept of this mosque, as well as the relative thinness of the walls, exclude any possibility of stone vaulting or domes. If there have been inner supports for the ceiling, it is difficult to say at present. In Ankara a number of wood-covered mosques dating from the 13th till the 18th century have been preserved, showing the various possibilities in this type⁴⁰. Contemporary with Nova Zagora and of

³⁸ A review of this problem is given by Babinger in his *Frühgeschichte*, p. 73, note 34, and by Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livası*, pp. 14-16.

³⁹ Gökbilgin, p. 15 and 261-265.

⁴⁰ For the mosques of Ankara see the survey of Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri Yapıları*, Ankara 1971.

roughly the same size and proportion is the Ulu Cami of Ayas⁴¹, forty km west of Ankara, which constitutes an excellent idea what the Bulgarian mosque could have been. Other wood-covered mosques of the first half of the 15th century, situated in Turkish Thrace, near Nova Zagora, are the Pasha Cami at Hayrabolu, built in 1419 by Mehmed I or the Muradiye Cami of Uzun Köprü, built in the thirties of the 15th century by Murad II, together with the famous bridge. Last mentioned two buildings, however, have lost their original roofing. What they are at the moment is the product of various restorations, like that in Nova Zagora, but of much better quality than the "repair" the Bulgarian mosque suffered. It must be said that we know very little of wood-covered mosques in the Balkans, but the general trend of this kind of architecture in Anatolia is more or less known, and there is nothing which would argue against an early presence of this kind of mosques as in fact nearly all elements of Ottoman architecture were brought from Anatolia to Rumili. To repeat our statement on the Nova Zagora mosque demolishing this historical work is certainly the last thing that should be done.

Hamam of Grand Vezir Hadım Ali Pasha

Opposite the mosque of Sarica Pasha, on the same crossroads, still stands the public bath, Evliya Çelebi spoke of in the 17th century. It is part of the extensive building activity of the Beylerbey of Rumili and later Grand Vezir Hadım Ali Pasha, the statesman and protector of Ottoman literature⁴² in the time of Bayazid II (1481-1512). The bath in Nova Zagora is mentioned among his foundations in a document published by Gökbilgin⁴³. From the outside the building makes no impression at all. The walls are thickly plastered over and roofing

⁴¹ For the date of this mosque see: Katharina Otto-Dorn, Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Kleinasien, in: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin 1959, p. 72. More photographs in *Türkiyede Vakıf Abideleri ve Eski Eserler*, I, Ankara 1972, pp. 473-478. Compare also the Bünyamin Cami in the same town of Ayaş, built at the end of the 15th century, (*Vakıf Abideleri* pp. 465-467).

⁴² The qualities of Ali Pasha as such are mentioned by E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* II, p. 227 and III pp. 47/48 (New Edition London 1965) Among his protégés were such Early Classical poets as Mesihî and Zâtî.

⁴³ Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livası*, pp. 397-98.

has been changed. The disrobing room, if there has been any⁴⁴, is replaced by a featureless construction of recent date. The hamam has been placed in a kind of park, among trees. Only if we enter the building, we realise that it has real architectural value. The bath is a single one, a tek hamam. It measures only 9.60-15.30 m on the outside. We ignore the new disrobing room, and enter the bath on the lateral side, first coming into a long room which is covered by a succession of three different vaulted sections. This was the old tepidarium or soğukluk and must have served partially as depilatory and toilets. For the latter function a new toilet has been built outside the old building, placed against its walls. The bath room proper is a transversally placed section, covered by a dome over the centre and small domes placed on triangles over the narrower lateral spaces. From the bath room proper one enters two sizeable halvets covered by domes on different kinds of "Turkish triangles". No vaulted part of the hamam has the same way of construction or the same decoration. The main dome rests on pendentives but has a belt of finely worked stalactites around its base, as is often found by works of the later part of the 15th century. All decoration is restricted but refined. Unfortunately it has suffered considerably from bad repairs.

If we summarise our observations on the hamam of Ali Pasha at Nova Zagora, we may say that the bath is a valuable work of the late 15th or early 16th century. The plan shows some originality and inventiveness as compared with later hamams. The heating system has been modernised, but the original water reservoir is still preserved. The hamam is still in use as bath.

⁴⁴ We may notice the fact that a number of Early Ottoman baths of the 15th century had no large domed disrobing rooms. An outstanding example is the splendid Beylerbey Hamam at Edirne, built in 1429, which is now in such a shameful state of decay and half destroyed. There the finely worked original portal with its twin doors is still in situ. Behind it one does not enter a large domed or wood roofed room, but a very small cell, directly behind which is the bath. Other baths in Edirne, dating from the same period, show the same features (Gazi Mihal Hamam, Topkapi Hamam) but there the original entrances have been demolished or otherwise disappeared. The magnificent 15th century baths of Edirne need even more a general restoration than the works in Bulgaria discussed above. Their disappearance will be a grave loss for our knowledge of Early Ottoman architecture.

The building is also destined to disappear like the mosque opposite the street. Instead of demolishing we would argue in favour of a restoration. If the colourful original cloisonné work was brought to light again and the roofing is given back its original covering, the rather featureless town of Nova Zagora would gain an original note. Both buildings, the mosque and the bath, constitute the only link with the past which especially Nova Zagora cannot afford to cut.

(In the spring of 1974, after this article had been sent to the press, we found that the Mosque of Sarıca Pasha in Nova Zagora was demolished. This demolishing happened in March, 1974. M. K.)

POSTSCRIPT

Stara Zagora

P. 636: According to the detailed register T.D. 77 from 1516 (B.B.A. Istanbul, pp. 459–469), the town of 'Eski Hisar Zağra' really had no Christian inhabitants. The town numbered 18 mahalles, with 523 Muslim households and 246 unmarried adult male Muslims, or roughly 2,300–2,500 inhabitants. 23% of them were local converts, which is a lot. The synoptic register T.D. 370 (B.B.A. Istanbul, p. 67) which was the basis of Barkan's map, mentions that the town had one mosque, two mescids, a hamam, an imaret and a zaviye of Karaca Ahmed. The presence of a bazar is explicitly mentioned. The tax structure of the town was typically urban, consisting for the greater part of market dues, rent of state-owned shops and dues of the public weighing-house, etc. The register KuK 65 (Ankara, TKGM, pp. 376–384), of the 1560s, is the first to mention Christian inhabitants: 53 'nefer' (adult males). The register T.D. 729 (B.B.A. Istanbul, pp. 225–230) from shortly after 1603 has 120 'nefer' Christians, whereas the number of Muslims, when compared with 1516, had slightly decreased. With the coming of more Christians the Islamisation apparently stopped or slowed down greatly. The 1603 register has only 11% of converts. A Poll Tax register (non-Muslims only) from 1675 mentions 104 households (perhaps 140 'nefer') Christians as well as eight households of Jews. Over the course of time the composition of the town's population kept changing in favour of the Christians. Three years before the end of the Turkish period the Sâlnâme of the Edirne Vilayet of 1291 mentions 8,656 Muslim inhabitants in Eski Zağra as against 14,962 non-Muslim inhabitants. The town then possessed 25 mosques, five churches and two synagogues.

P. 643: The city council wanted (as usual in Bulgaria) to demolish the mosque; the Institute for Monuments of Culture wanted to restore it. A half-hearted compromise was reached. The mosque itself was restored—rather successfully—and the portico freed from ugly later additions. On the other hand, the minaret was demolished and the brass crescent on the dome was removed. The thus castrated mosque will serve as exhibition room. In September 1988 the restoration was not entirely finished.

For the development of the town in the Ottoman period see also: Pierre Voillery, 'Une ville bulgare à l'époque ottomane. Eski Zagara (XVIIIe–XIXe siècles)', *Turcica* XX (1988), pp. 93–112 (exclusively based on non-Ottoman sources).

The problem of the identity of the Hamza Bey who constructed the Stara Zagora mosque (p. 640) can perhaps be solved by comparing the chronicles of Neşri and Ruhi-i Edirnevi, both written around 1500 but based on much older accounts. Bicerzâde Hamza Bey is ruled out because he was one of the men of Çelebi Mehmed when this prince was still residing in Amasya, in Anatolia. Firuz Beyoğlu Hamza is known to have been governor of Sofia in or around 833 (1429/30); that he used a royal title is highly unlikely. Neşri and Ruhi mention explicitly 'İzmiroğlu Hamza Bey' as one of the commanders in Europe who, during the critical confrontation between the princes Musa and Mehmed in 1413, deserted Musa and went over to Mehmed, therewith deciding the battle for the throne of Osman. İzmiroğlu Hamza is mentioned together with Paşa Yiğit, lord of Skopje and Sinan Bey, lord of Thessaly, and had 500 men under his command, with whom he blocked the Balkan passes during Mehmed's advance. This Hamza, son of Cuneyd, the deposed ruler of Izmir, is the only one entitled to royal prerogatives in titulature and the only known Ottoman commander with that name mentioned as having been stationed in the Balkans. His means were large enough to enable him to indulge in building schemes like in Stara Zagora, and the unsettled conditions of the empire after the death of Sultan Bayezid allowed him to behave more or less independently.

Jambol

The oldest source containing information on the size and the composition of the population of Jambol is contained in the synoptic register 0.89 of the *Cevdet Yazmaları* collection in Istanbul, which on p. 222 has our town as it was in 1454/55 (on the size of the Byzantino-Bulgarian Jambol absolutely nothing is known, except the approximate size of the old walled city: c. 3 hectares, which in theory could contain 1,000–1,500 inhabitants). In 1455 Jambol had 591 adult male Muslim inhabitants and 60 adult male Christians, or perhaps 2,400 inhabitants, of whom 8% were Christian. Among the Muslims there were 17 imams and 15 müezzins, a professor of a theological college and a member of the Akhi brotherhood—an indication of how many Islamic institutions there were in Jambol at this early date. The presence of two primary schools (*mekteb*) is mentioned separately, as is that of three dervishes.

The detailed register KuK. 86 in Ankara (TKGM, fol. 173^v–176^v) from 1587 mentions three mosques by name as well as eight mescids. They were the Mosque of Sheikh Noktacı (or Sofular Camii, which existed till the beginning of the 20th century), the Mosque of Bali Subaşı and, more interesting, the 'Câmi-i Atılç-i Muştafa Ağa'. Evliya Çelebi noted that the founder of the mosque was 'an Ağa of the Janissaries'. This is all we could find about him: Mustafa Ağa is not mentioned in any of the usual reference works on Ottoman history (S.O., Gökbilgin-Paşa Livâstı, Danişmend, Kronolojisi, Hammer G.O.D. etc.). The 1587 register also tells us that Jambol had not expanded any further in the course of the 16th century, but had even declined slightly. There were 359 Muslim households and 204 unmarried male Muslims, as against 86 Christian and five Jewish households. The Christian element had thus gained considerably (from 8% in 1455 to 17% in 1587), in spite of considerable Islamisation among the local inhabitants (19% of the 1587 Muslims were of local Christian convert origin).

In the 1980s the Eski Cami of Jambol was in course of restoration. During this the thick coat of 19th-century plaster was cut off and the original masonry brought to light. It then became clear that the mosque was the product of two different periods of construction. Evidently the oldest part is the central domed cube with minaret and portico. In this part large-size spoils from Antique buildings are incorporated in the cloisonné masonry. The plan of this oldest section, a domed square, whereby the dome rests on engaged pillars which create a cross-shaped inner space, is closely related to the Orhan Bey Camii in Old Bilecik. This building, in the very cradle of Ottoman power, is dated in the 1350s. The Jambol

building, after restoration, has to be connected with the very first buildings the Ottomans erected on European soil, built after models developed in western Asia Minor. At a later stage, perhaps in the first half of the 15th century, the growing congregation necessitated the enlargement of the old structure. This was done by adding the curious lateral 'naves' in a way reminiscent of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne. Whether the Jambol building in its final form is older than the great mosque in Edirne and could have been a source of inspiration for it, or whether it was the other way round, cannot be said without dendrochronological research. And as dendrochronology is hardly used for dating historical buildings in Bulgaria we may have to wait long for any definite answer to this question. As the situation is now, I would like to suggest a date around 1380/90 for the oldest part and 1430/50 for the enlargement. The character of the cloisonné masonry of the younger part and the connection with the plan of the Üç Şerefeli mosque in Edirne are the chief elements to determine the date of construction of this part. Meagre, but as long as no modern methods of dating are applied or archival documents found, we can hardly do better than accept it.

VIII

SOME LITTLE-KNOWN MONUMENTS OF OTTOMAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE MACEDONIAN PROVINCE*¹

Štip, Kumanova, Prilep, Strumitsa

Only a few cities that once belonged to the European provinces of the Ottoman empire preserve so many valuable works of Turkish Islamic architecture as the two great Macedonian centres Skopje and Bitola (Üsküb and Monastir). By means of various publications² the monumental mosques, baths, türbes, hans or covered markets etc., became known to a wider public. This is especially true about the magnificent buildings of Skopje after their praiseworthy reconstruction since the great earthquake of

1 The materials for this article were collected during a journey on the Balkans in the summer of 1969 which was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation of Pure-Scientific Research, Z.W.O. The Hague and a grant of the Prince Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam. The material was given for publication in a slightly different form to the periodical *Kulturno Nasledstvo* in Skopje but never appeared.

2 Basically the various studies on inscriptions, history and vakifnâmes of the Skopje mosques by Gliša Elezović, in *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva* the number 1 till 10; Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, in *Zbornik za Istonjačku Istoriju i Književnu Gradje*, Beograd 1940; Herbert Duda, *Balkantürkische Studien*, in: *Sitzungsberichte Österr. Akad. Wissensch. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 226, Band 1, Wien 1949; with a usefull comments of Robert Anhegger, *Neues zur Balkantürkische Forschung*, in: *Zeitsch. Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellsch.* Band 103, Wiesbaden 1953; Lidija Bogojević, *Les Turbés de Skopje*, in: *Atti della Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arta Turca*, Napoli 1965, pp. 31-39; the best plans and sections of some of the most important buildings by: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II sultan Murad Devri*, Istanbul 1972; also various reports with plans and photographs of the works of conservation and restoration after the earthquake of 1963 in: *Zbornik Zaštite Spomenika Kulture*, Beograd 1965, p.p. 157-164.

For Bitola see: Mehmed Tewfik, *Manastir Vilayeti Tarihiçesi*, Manastir 1327 (1909), appeared also in Serbian translation in: *Bratstvo* 43, Beograd 1933; Krum Tomovski, *Džamii u Bitola*, in: *Godišen Zbornik na Tehničkiot Fakultet, Universitet Skopje*, Skopje 1956/57, *Zbornik na Tehničkiot Fak.* III Skopje 1957/58, pp. 95-110, Bitola on p. 107). Hasan Kaleši, *Najstarije Vakufname u Jugoslaviji*, in: *Prilozi za Orientalni Filologiju* X-XI, Sarajevo 1960/61 pp. 55-73.

1963. In less important Macedonian towns, however, a number of monuments of importance are still preserved till our day but remain virtually unknown. In this modest contribution we will turn our attention to five of these buildings giving some primary information on their architecture, relationship and historical setting. We mean the towns of Štip (İştîp), Kumanova, Prilep (Pirlepe) and Strumica (Ustrumca) situated in the eastern half of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, that part of the historical old landscape which was most intensively colonised and resettled by the Turks³ since the last decade of the 14th century.

The developments in these areas since the empire lost them (1912) were of such a nature that the greater part of the Turkish population either fled or emigrated⁴ to the Turkish republic in the course of time. Their buildings, left without a function and being regarded as symbol of an unbeloved past were demolished as soon as an occasion appeared or in the best case were left to fall into decay and ruin. Due to the great changes in the last three decades old views were largely modified and those Ottoman monuments which remained standing were often saved by careful restoration. However, the disappearance of works of Ottoman architecture in the towns mentioned is such that only one or two buildings remain preserved in each town.

3 In her recent article 'İştîb' in *the Encycl. of Islam*, New Edition, vol IV, pp. 121/22 Bistra Čvetkova denies the importance of this colonisation stating that it was 'not very extensive' and mentions as example only 81 ocaks of Yürüks in the Ovce Polje west of Štip. in 1566. However, Ömer Lutfi Barkan (in his *Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire Ottomane*, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I, Leiden 1958) mentions no less than 6.640 Muslim households in the Sancak of Kijistend. On the map in his *Deportations comme méthode etc.* these Turkish settlers appear almost all in the area between the Vardar and Štip, the district we are dealing with. Detailed information on the ethnic structure of the area along the Vardar, south of Skopje, on the excellent map of Leonard Schultze-Jena, *Makedonien, Landschafts und Kulturbilder*, Jena 1927, there also lists of the various villages. Further the various studies of Jovan Trifunoski mentioned on note 4. For the Ottoman colonisation in general see: Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Deportation comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation etc.* in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques*, Université d'Istanbul, II^e année No. 1-4.

4 For the emigration of the Turkish inhabitants of the Štip-Vardar region see: Jovan Trifunoski, *La structure ethnique et les proces ethnique dans le basin de Bregalnitz; Les villages depeuple du basin inferieur de Bregalnitz; Les villages d'aujourd'hui et la population dans le basin inferieure de Bregalnitz* in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Narodn Muzej*, III, Štip 1962/63.

ŠTIP.

Štip is the Stipion of ancient time⁵, built on a high and isolated hill on the confluence of the rivers Bregalnica and Otinja. On this site the oldest building of the town is preserved, the castle. The medieval town was largely situated within the walls of this fairly extensive castle⁶. An open suburb was situated east of the castle whereas some smaller suburbs, or clusters of houses must have been situated at the western and southern foot of the castle hill where three old churches, built in the Byzantino-Serbian style of the 14th century remain preserved⁷. Štip was in turn part of the Byzantine, Bulgarian and Serbian states of the medieval period. It was conquered by the Ottomans in the last decades of the 14th century, alledgedly in 1388 under Murad I but more probably in 1395⁸ after the Battle of Rovine in which the last Bulgaro-Serbian Lord of Eastern Macedonia, Konstantin Dejanović fell as vasaal of Bayezid I. His land was converted into the sancak of Kjustendil - Kostadin-ili - the Land of Konstantin. Štip was part of this sancak and flourished particularly in the 16th and 17th century when it spread far and wide over the hills beyond the old town limits. Evliya Çelebi describes it as a city with 2.240 houses, 24 Muslim mahalle and 24 mosques⁹. One of them was the Fethiye Câmi'i, an old church (that is the church of the Archangel Michael which still stands today)¹⁰. Besides these buildings our traveller mentions a number of mescids, two hamams, a medresse, seven hans and seven tekkes. Of the mosques those of Murad I and Husam Paşa were the most important.

5 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije vol. VIII, p. 267; Nikolovski, Čornakov, Balabanov, *The Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje 1961, p. 101.

6 The church of the Archangel Michael, built in 1334, the church of the Ascention, built by a certain duke Dimitar little before 1388 and the church of St. John the Baptist, built by the small landowner Jovan Probištip in 1350. For these churches see: *Cultural Mon. of Macedonia*, pp. 118/120 and the (restoration) reports in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Nar. Muzej* I and II, 1958/59 - 1960.

8 B. Čvetkova in: *Encycl. of Islam* New Edition IV, article *Ishtib* on pp. 121/22. The battle of Rovine (Argeş) took place in May 1395.

9 Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, VI, 118 vv. (Istanbul printed edition).

10 The old church of the Archangel Michael is locally still known as 'Fitija' E. H. Ayverdi found a document from which can be seen that sultan Murad I founded a mosque in Štip which was known as Fethiye Câmi'i. This challenges the date of conquest of Štip in 1395 and speaks in favour of 1388.

According to the Salname of the Vilayet of Prizren¹¹, to which Štip belonged between 1868 and 1874 the town counted nine Friday Mosques, seven tekkes and 250 shops. On the eve of the Balkan Wars Štip was a thriving commercial town counting 20.900 inhabitants¹². After the wars the number of inhabitants fell steeply to 11.200^{12a} due to the mass emigration of the Muslim population. Today Štip¹³ still retains much of its old oriental outlook but the number of historical buildings from Ottoman times is reduced to two, the great mosque of Hüsameddin Paşa and the Bedesten. The great stone bridge over the Bregalnica was destroyed during World War II, the other monuments of Ottoman architecture, hans hamams mosques etc. were all demolished in the course of time. Besides buildings mentioned Štip counts two magnificent big churches built in the style of the Macedonian National Revival during the time of Tanzimat reforms¹⁴. The monumental Bedesten of Štip was carefully restored and serves today as Museum. It will be left undiscussed here as it was the subject of a separate publication¹⁵.

Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Paşa.

The great Bedesten of Štip was the commercial centre of the new open town along the river which developed in the first centuries of the Ottoman rule. The mosque of Hüsameddin was the nucleus of a new and large part of the town which sprang up simultaneously on the sloping grounds on

11 The sole known copy of this Salnâme was found and published by Hasan Kalesi and Hans-Jürgen Kornumpf, *Das Wilajet Prizren im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Südost Forschungen XXVI*, München 1967, pp. 176-238.

12 Schultze-Jena, *Makedonien*, p. 130 gives 17.000 inhabitants for the period prior to 1912; *the Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII p. 267 gives 20.900 for the end of the last century. B. Cvetkova in *Encyclopedia of Islam* IV, 1972 pp. 121/22 gives for 1894 10.900 Bulgarians, 8.700 Turks, 800 Jew and 500 gypseys.

12^a Schultze-Jena p. 130 gives 11.200 inhabitants for the period shortly after World War I, *the Encikl. Jugosl.* (p. 267) gives 12.000 for 1931.

13 Štip did not recover from the blows it received after 1912. In 1961 it still counted but 18.650 inhabitants (*Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, p. 267).

14 The fact that the *Salnâme* gives only one church in Štip is due to the fact that the second one is situated in the suburb of Novo Selo which then was still regarded as an independant community.

15 See: Krum Tomovski, *Bezistenot vo Štip*, in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Naroden Muzej*, No II, 1960/61, pp. 97-101 with plan, section photographs and French résumé (Le Bedesten de Štip).

the other side of the river. The mosque is a monumental building which deserves to become known as one of the most important Ottoman buildings preserved in present day Yugoslavia. It towers high above the houses of the picturesque town on the south bank of the Otinja and dominates, together with the old castle and the church of the Archangel Michael, the entire townscape. Balanced proportions, volume and fine workmanship further enhance the beauty of the building. Some repairs and maintenance have been carried out recently¹⁶ by the Institute for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Macedonia, so that the buildings is in a fairly good state although looking shabby and without function. Unfortunately the minaret is sadly missing, as a result of which the former harmony between the solid body of mosque and the pronounced vertical element constituted by the minaret is now spoiled.

The plan of the mosque is remarkable, it is a square of 12.40 m with a portico of sturdy but harmonious proportions in front and a kind of wide and shallow apse in which the mihrab niche is placed. This 'apse' is the most interesting element of the mosque and the result of a long development within Ottoman architecture. The placing of the mihrab in a kind of apse is often regarded as the result of the intensive mutual contact between early-Ottoman and late-Byzantine architecture which we see throughout the entire 14th century. The first mosque on which we find this element is, as is well known, that of Murad I in his capital Bursa. The element was used later on in Turkish architecture, completely integrated in the structure of the building. We may see it in very different form in the mosque of Beylerbey Yusuf Paşa¹⁷ in Edirne from the year 1429, on the famous mental hospital of Bayezid II from 1485, also in Edirne, on the mosque of Davut Paşa in Istanbul, from 1485¹⁸ or that of Mehmed Bey in the Macedonia city of Serres built in 1491¹⁹. It is very well possible that our mosque was inspired by

16 According to *the Cultural Mon. of Mac.*, (p. 125) the repairs were carried out in 1953. The dome was covered with cement to protect it from the effects of rain and snow, the lower windows were blocked to prevent intruders doing any harm or use the building as store.

17 For this building see now the most detailed plan and description by Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi: *Osmanli Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II sultan Murad devri*, pp. 377.

18 Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopols*, and recently E.H. Ayverdi, *Osmanli mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 327-337.

19 For this great building see two articles, completing each other: Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre*, in: *Istanbulur Mitteilungen*, 17, 1967 pp. 312-330.

that of the nearby Serres. The latter city constituted one of the ten largest Turkish cities in Europe, was a centre of Ottoman Turkish literature, culture and architecture as well as an economic centre of a wide area²⁰. Ottoman architecture was deeply rooted there and it is far from being improbable to suppose that the masters of the smaller Macedonian places went to this place to find inspiration or skilled workers. Skopje played much the same role but there single domed mosques with an apse of the kind as in Serres and Štip are not found any more and not known from the past. As regards plan, proportion of the various elements and similar form of mihrab apse the Štip building is close to Serres but there is a basic difference. The Serres mosque is a last offshoot from the Zaviye-of Tabhaneli-mosque²¹ and had, like its little older predecessor in Istanbul (Davut Paşa) separate rooms on both lateral sides. These rooms make a wider portico necessary which has five units instead of three in Štip. The latter building does not show the slightest trace of tabhanes or associated rooms but is simply a monumental single-unit mosque enriched by a large apse. It may be noticed that the apse is well integrated in the general concept and in this field closely follows the Serres building which shows an equally successful blend. A large and well integrated mihrab apse is also to be seen at the great mosque of Sofu Sinan Paşa in Prizren in the Kossovo - Metohije district, a building from the first decades of the 17th century²². The latter building, close to Štip in general concept, is a work characteristic for the late classical period of Ottoman architecture. Erdmann²³ already noticed the main characteristic of the works of the post-Sinan period which tend to the enormous, impressing only by

M. Kiel, *Observations on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule*, In *Balkan Studies* 12² (Thessaloniki 1971), pp. 415-462.

20 For the economical importance of Serres see first of all Schultze-Jena and the literature mentioned there.

21 For the Zaviya - and Tabhaneli Mosque see i.a.: Semavi Eyice, *Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (Istanbul, Ekim 1962 - Şubat 1963), p. 3-80; Semavi Eyice, *Trakya'da Inecik'de Tabhâneli Câmi*, in: *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* No 1 (Istanbul 1970), pp. 173-196; Anhegger, see note 19; Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago 1968, etc.

22 Briefly described by Hüsref Redžić, *Pet Osmanijskig gradjevina na Kosovu i Metohiji*, in: *Starine Kosova i Metohije I*, Priština 1961, pp. 95-112 plan by: Ivan Zdravković, *Izbor gradje ... Islamske Arhitektura*, Beograd 1964, pp. 53-55. On the date of this building see: K. Özergin, H. Kaleşi, I. Eren, *Prizren Kitabeleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi* VII (1968), pp. 82-83.

23 Kurt Erdmann, *Beobachtungen auf einer Reise in Zentralanatolien*, in: *Archeologische Anzeiger des Deutschen Arch. Inst.* 1954, p. 194.

sheer size and overwhelming massiveness, as opposed to the late Seljuk works which lost itself in a baroque profusion of decorative elements. The Prizren building is typical for the late classical style mentioned and is moreover dated by an inscription whereas the Štip mosque is anepigraph. On the Balkans another outspoken example of the colossale style is the mosque of Ibrahim Pasha at Razgrad, dated by its inscription in numbers and chronogram from the year 1025 (1616)²⁴. The mosque of Hüsameddin Paşa in Štip shares in this trend towards the colossal as the proportions do not show the 'raffinesse' of the classical period but tend to be rather ponderous. Not the stern elegance is noticeable here but impressing volumes, obtained by the interrelation between blank spaces, cornices and size of windows. On the other hand the mosque does have some more archaic features which could also point to an earlier date. There is first of all the portico, the 'son cemaat yeri' This portico is built in pure and simple forms resampling those from the early 16th century. The portico is carried by four columns of polished marble which bear the three domes, each nearly four metre square. In several ways the architect has tried to emphasize the importance of the entrance. This is, as usual, situated in the middle of the north wall and is crowned by a powerful arch of alternating red and yellow stone. The two central columns of the portico, those flanking the entrance, are of green marble instead of the white marble that was used for those standing at the sides. Furthermore the capitals of the central columns are adorned with rich stalactites whereas the others only have pointed folds, the so-called 'Turkish triangles'. The central arch of the portico repeats the pattern of alternating red and yellow stone of the portal. The overall impression is early or mid 16th century, but the stalactites of the capitals point to a later date. The masonry of the mosque does not give an indication about the date. The lower part of the building is erected from large blocks of perfectly cut and polished brownish yellow stone from the nearby Žegligovo district. This stone is very resistant to the actions of the weather and therefore well preserved. The upper part of the mosque is built of the local greenish sandstone from the Štip area which is less resistant and has eroded on several places. Resuming it should be said that the mosque of Hüsameddin Paşa is most probably a work of the late classical phase of Ottoman architecture from the first decades of the 17th century, the reign of Ahmed I, Genç Osman or

24 A photograph of this mosque and a improvised transcription of the inscription was given by Osman Keskiöglu in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VIII (Istanbul 1969), p. 320.

Mustafa I. A date in the 17th century was also that at which the authors of "Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia" arrived, devoting a few lines to this building²⁵. Evliya Çelebi visited Štip in 1072 (1661/62) which affords a safe terminus post quem as he mentions and describes the mosque in an unmistakable manner.

According to the 'Cultural Monuments' Hüsameddin Paşa was also the founder of a hamam²⁶ in Štip of which some traces of walls were preserved. Evliya mentions a dar ul-kurra belonging to the mosque of Hüsameddin. Near the mosque the saints Sheih Muhieddin Rumi, Ali-ud-din Rumi and the Mevlevi Sheih Mustafa Efendi were buried²⁷. About the personality of Hüsameddin Pasha we were unable to find anything²⁸.

25 *Cultural Monuments*, p. 125 where they oddly enough called the mosque 'Husa Medin Paša'.

26 The same p. 125. Evliya Çelebi mentions two hamams of which one was built by Emir Efendi. The second one was probably that of Hüsameddin.

27 Immediately besides the mosque still stands the humble octagonal türbe of Sheih Muhieddin. According to Galaba Palikruševa, *Derviskiöt red Halveti vo Makedonija*, (*Zbornik Štipskiöt Narodn Muzej* No 1, 1959 p. 117), this Muhieddin was the propagator of the Halveti branch of Bayrami. The mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha is popularly known as Muhieddin Babina Câmî'i. The grave of this saint is still venerated but his Halveti branch has disappeared. Today there are in Štip only followers of the Hayati branch founded in the 18th century by Mehmed Hayati of Ohrid (for a description of the chief Hayati Tekke in last mentioned town see: Semavi Eyice, *Ohri'nin Türk devrine ait eserleri*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* VI, (Istanbul 1965), pp. 141 and photo 13-14.

Štip appears to have been a religious and cultural centre of some importance. Besides the religious leaders mentioned by Evliya we know of Abdülkerim Efendi, also known as İstipli Emir Efendi, who died in 1015 (1606/07) in Istanbul. He is probably identical with the Emir Sultan, or Küçük Emir Sultan mentioned by Evliya as founder of number of public and religious buildings in Štip.

İstipli Emir Efendi was buried at the tekke of the mosque of Mehmed Sokollu at Kadirga - Istanbul See: Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Miellifleri*, edition A. Fikri Yavuz - İsmail Özen, Istanbul 1971, vol I, p. 40.

From Štip came also the Sümbüliye - Halvetiye Sheih Adlı Hasan Efendi who died as Sheih of the Sümbüliye Dergah of Istanbul in 1026 (1617/18) (*Osmanlı Miellifleri* II p. 50 edition Yavuz and Özen).

The mystic leader and poet of the last century, Salih Rifat Efendi (died in 1326, 1908/09) also came from Štip (*Osmanlı Miellifleri* edit. Yavuz and Özen, vol I, p. 200).

28 Not in Hammer, G.O.R., not in *Sicill-i Osmani*, edition or in Pegevi.

KUMANOVO.

Kumanovo, a town of minor importance situated in the plains north east of Skopje appears to be a urban settlement of more recent origin, probably emerged as town in the course of the 16th century. Evliya Çelebi mentions²⁹ it in 1071 (1660/61) as a kasaba in the sancak of Üsküb - Skopje - counting 600 houses with a beautiful mosque in the Çarşı³⁰. Besides mentioned buildings there was a han, a hamam, a medrese and a sufficient number of shops. From this description we get the impression that Kumanovo was a minor, chiefly Islamic, township, risen to the rank of kasaba by the erecting of a large mosque and some other buildings for the spread and maintenance of the Islamic way of life. More information on Kumanovo is known from the last century. Von Hahn³¹ describes in 1861 a fastly growing town with an extensive and lively Bazar which according to him, pointed to an important commercial and craft activity. Kumanovo then had 650 houses of which 300 were inhabited by Muslims and 350 by Bulgarians. Hahn adds that Kumanovo was for thirty years ago (thus 1830) still a village with 40 houses, half Christian, half Muslim. The town had two mosque and a great clock tower. A new large church was under construction³². This note makes it very probable that the town had suffered heavily during the Austrian invasion at the end of the 17th century and like Skopje only recovered more than a century later³³. According to the Salname of the Prizren Vilayet of 1291³⁴ (1874/75) Kumanovo counted two mosques, two

29 *Evliya Çelebija Putopis*, Hazim Šabanović, vol. II pp. 98 - 104 (Serbian translation from the Istanbul edition vol. VI).

30 This mosque must be ours, described in the following pages.

31 J. G. von Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Saloniki*, Wien 1861, p. 56.

32 the same p. 56.

33 *The Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* vol V, Zagreb p. 449, Kumanovo, states that the number of inhabitants fell after the Karpoš Uprising in 1689 (connected with the Austrian invasion of that year) of which the town was the centre. According to the same source Kumanovo was not more than a village in the 18th and 19th centuries with only 300 houses. Ami Boue, *Le Turquie d'Europe*, gives in 1836 3.000 inhabitants, Hahn, who travelled in 1858 gives 3.500 inhabitants. Further details on Kumanovo see: A. Urošević, *Kumanovo*, in: *Zbornik na Filoz. Fak. vo Skopje, Prirodno matematički otdel*, Skopje 1949 (not consulted here).

34 see note 11 (Kornrumpf-Kalesi p. 218).

tekkes and a clock tower. Like Hahn the Salname mentions the fabrication of woollen textiles, carpets, blankets etc. and a very important market on Thursday. The population of the administrative district of Kumanovo was, according to the same Salname composed of 9.116 Muslims and 15.244 Christians³⁵. According to the *Kamus ül A'lam* of Şemseddin Sami³⁶ Kumanovo counted at the beginning of our century 4.500 inhabitants and had two mosques, two tekkes³⁷ and one medrese. The Battle of Kumanovo which decided the fate of the Ottoman rule over the Balkans was fought near the town in 23/24 October 1912. In our time Kumanovo developed into an industrial town of over 30.000 inhabitants³⁸ among whom a large minority of Albanian speaking Muslims. A mosque and a hamam are preserved from the uneventfull Ottoman past.

Kumanovo, *TATAR SINAN BEY MOSQUE*.

In the older southern part of the town on the old road to Skopje rises a small though imposing and well built mosque which is locally known as Tatar Sinan Bey Câmî'i. The mosque is still in daily use and in excellent state of preservation although it has suffered from artless additions and repairs. Outside the enclosure of the mosque stands a hamam, half buried in the ground and in terrible state of decay. The latter building is probably the hamam mentioned by Evliya Çelebi and could have been part of the foundations of Tatar Sinan Bey together with the other mentioned objects of which today all traces have disappeared. Unfortunately we were unable to study this certainly interesting bath at a close distance. Hence no definite conclusions about its type and date can be given.

As in Štip the Kumanovo mosque is an undated work, which is even more difficult to date with more or less certainty than the former building. The plan is not very remarkable, a square of 10,30m. surmounted by a dome, and a portico of three units as in many other smaller mosques. The way, however, in which this plan is conceived is exceptional and not found elsewhere. The tambour which supports and partly mantles the dome has

35 Kornrumpf-Kalesi, table on p. 202.

36 *Kamus ül A'lam*, V, 3768.

37 One of this tekkes belonged to the Karabaşiye branch of the Halvetiye order see: *Galaba Palikruševa Dervišklot red* (cited in note 27), p. 113.

38 *Encikl. Jugosl.* V. p. 449.

not the normal polygonal shape but forms a extraordinary tall circular drum. The same unusually high circular drum is used to cover the central compartment of the 'son cemaat yeri' The two remaining sections of this portico on both sides of the drum, are covered by flat, ribless cross-vaults. As the sections of the portico have been given a rectangular form of 2.30 wide and 3.62 m deep it was necessary, before placing a dome over the central section, first to make a square by means of arches. The dome over the portico is not a plain one but was given a highly decorative form by constructing it with numerous ribs thereby producing a melon form. This great difference between the central and the lateral sections of the portico manifests the same tendency to stress the importance of the entrance, as was done in Štip but achieved in a different manner. The element of a smaller central section of a portico, crowned with a tall dome, is much older than the Kumanovo mosque. The Yeşil Câmî' of Iznik³⁹ from the last decades of the 14th century may be cited as a very early example. A monument which has the same idea expressed in a different manner is the mosque of the sultan Murad II, now called Fethiye or Fatih Câmî', in the city of Kjustendil⁴⁰ just across the Bulgarian frontier. Kjustendil was the capital of the homonymous sancak within which frontiers the district of Žegligovo was situated. Kumanovo is the chief place in this landscape⁴¹. The Kjustendil mosque is from about 1430 and might very well have influenced the mosque of Tatar Sinan in this respect. Other remarkable features on the mosque of Kumanovo is the way in which the windows are adorned. Each façade has a double row of windows. The lower row has two windows which are set in shallow, recessed fields having a simple but decorative profile of convex - concave forms.

39 For this building see: K. Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, pp. 20-33, and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanli Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, Istanbul 1966, pp. 309-319.

40 On this building and its right date see: Jordan Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia 1906 and H. Minetti, *Osmanische Provinziale Baukunst auf dem Balkan*, Hannover 1923. In the 1953 edition of his *Fatih Devri Mimarisi* Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi attributed this mosque to the period of Fatih which is an impossible anachronism.

41 In the 16th century the village of Nagoričane with the famous monastery of the Serbian king Milutin was the seat of the local administration of the nahiye Nevgerić of the Sancak of Kjustendil. As such it is also mentioned in the last quarter of the 15th century. By the mid 16th century Nagoričane became a nahiye in the kadilik of Kratovo in the same Sancak. (See: M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumelija*, in: *Prilozi za Orientalni Filologiju XVI-XVII*, Sarajevo 1966/67, p. note 100 on pp. 325/26. The article is a Serbo-Kroat translation of Turkish study of Gökbilgin which appeared in *Belleten* T.T.K. XX, 78, Ankara 1956.

The windows are crowned with pointed arches which continue the same profiles as those around the recessed fields. The windows of the upper zone are smaller and plainly rectangular, covered with a lintel consisting of one large piece of stone. In order to protect the lintel from the pressure of the wall above, a pointed relieving arch is placed over it. The springs rest both extremities of the lintel. These relieving arches are richly adorned with geometrical figures in low relief. The fields between the relieving arches and the lintels are filled with slabs of white marble which are likewise richly sculptured with geometrical figures but of a different pattern to those on the arches. The low cube of the mosque as well as the tambour is finished by a strongly profilated cornice which is at several places replaced by a saw tooth frieze of bricks, which is a later repair.

The mosque is built of neatly cut and polished large blocks of yellow brown stone of the Žegligovo district, the same material as used at the mosque of Husâmeddin Paşa at Štip. In the last century the building was considerably enlarged in order to meet the growing need for space to accommodate ever more faithful. This enlargement was carried out with cheap materials, brick, plaster and tiles and stands in the greatest possible contrast with the fine work of the old building. The enlargement envelops the old portico completely and continues along the eastern lateral wall thus more than doubling the floor space. If a restoration of this valuable and original mosque will ever be carried out then a new place of prayer has to be made as the mosque today can hardly accommodate the number of faithful during the prayers. It is also necessary to clear out the overcrowded garden of the mosque and cut down some of the trees and shrubs which today mask the building almost completely.

About the founder of the mosque again nothing could be found. Edirne ve Paşa Livası of Gökbilgin mentions a great number of Sinan Beys but no one seems to have had any contacts with the Macedonian town. Detailed research may identify him, as also the person of Hüsâmeddin of Štip. As to the date we may suppose the later half of the 15th century or the four first decades of the 16th century, before Mimar Sinan became active. Round tambours are occasionally met with in Ottoman architecture, on the Eski Câmî'i of Edirne from the second decade of the 15th century, on the Mosque of Çauş Bey in Bitola - Monastir - from 1434⁴² and in the first half of the

42 See Krum Tomovski, *Džamii vo Bitola* (cited in note 2).

16th century on the Ahmed Bey Mosque in the Bulgarian Razgrad⁴³. The tambour of Kumanovo is exceedingly high, an element which would place the building in the 15th century. The form of the portico with its narrow central section also points to the 15th century, as do the square pillars of the portico instead of round marble columns, popular since the works of the time of Fatih and a well established canon in the time of his son Bayezid II.

The masonry and stone used as well as the use of sculpture around the windows may give more ground to date this building. In the Žegligovo district a number of churches were built in the first half of the 16th century as well as in the beginning of the 17th century. In two previous studies⁴⁴ we pointed to the interrelationship of these churches with each other and with the great sultans mosques in Istanbul trying to show that the group of churches was built by Christian master builders trained at the building sheds of the Ottoman capital⁴⁵ but being themselves members of an Armenian community which was settled in the the Žegligovo area in the 11th century and is known from documents as late as the 14th century. These churches show exactly the same workmanship as the Kumanovo mosque and the geometrical decoration appears to be identical. The churches are built with a blend of Ottoman and Armenian architectural and decorative details. The major work of this group of buildings is the large church of Mlado Nagoričane, which in our opinion is built in the first half of the 16th century. On the mosque of Kumanovo the Ottoman element dominates, at the churches the post-Byzantine - Armenian. We would not go very far astray if

43 Locally the date of 1442/43 is accepted. A careful examination at the spot brought us to a date in the second quarter of the 16th century. The result of above-mentioned work will be published at another occasion.

44 M. Kiel, *A contribution to the history of art of the Armenian diaspora*, in: *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, nouvelle série tome VIII, Paris 1971, pp. 267-282 and, M. Kiel, *Armenian and Ottoman influences on a group of Village Churches in the Kumanovo District*, in: *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 7, Novi Sad 1971, pp. 247-255.

45a Fundamental for the understanding of Ottoman architectural influences on Post-Byzantine Christian architecture in the Balkans remain the pay books, of the construction of the Süleymaniye, published in extract by Ö. L. Barkan, *Türk Yapı ve Yapı Malzemesi Tarihi İçin Kaynaklar*, in: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 17, İstanbul 1956. The phenomenon was studied from a different starting point by Andrej Andrejević, *Prilog proučavanja Islamski Utičaja na Umetnost XVI i XVII veka u Sarajevu i Bosni*, in: *Prilozi za Proučavanje Istorije Sarajeva*, Knj. I Sarajevo 1963, pp. 51-71 and Andrej Andrejević, *Manastir Mostanica kod Kozarom*, in: *Starinar* 13-14, Beograd 1962/63, pp. 163-175.

we attribute the mosque to this group of masters and their successors. The Žegligovo group is clearly distinct from the Ottoman works of Skopje or Bitola which shows the purest possible Ottoman forms, in touch with the latest developments in the Ottoman capital. The Žegligovo group is a little provincial to which fact might be attributed certain strange features on the mosque, the proportions and balance of the mass which they not completely mastered. The same minor shortcomings can be discerned at the mosque of Štip which must be a late work of the Žegligovo group. The group remained active till the first quarter the 17th century which is proved by the date on the fresco paintings of the church of Strezovce in the heart of the district, built and painted according the inscription in 6114 of the creation of the world (= 1606 A.D.)⁴⁵. The archaic features of the mosque portico might be explained by the mentioned provincialism, the building itself can fairly certainly be dated in the first decades of the reign of sultan Süleiman but documentary evidence from the Ottoman archive material remains necessary to be absolutely certain.

PRILEP, Pirlepe.

Prilep, at present one of the larger urban centres of Macedonia, is thought to have developed around a Roman road station along the Heraclea - Stobi road⁴⁶. The settlement survived the Slav invasions and flourished to a considerable degree in the 13th and 14th century protected by a mighty castle on the unassailable rocks which rise above the place⁴⁷. It was part of the Serbian empire of Tsar Dushan and later seat of a minor feudal kingdom of King Vukašin, the prince who died in 1371 in the Battle on the Maritsa against the Ottomans. Lastly Prilep was the seat of the legendary king Marko who fell together with Konstantin Dejanović of Kjustendil in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 as vasaal of the Ottomans. After last mentioned date Prilep was incorporated in the Ottoman state and in Turkish hands till 1912. From the time of the Slave states the ruins of the castle remain

45 For the Strezovce inscription see: Kiel, *Contribution Armenian diaspora* (cited on note 44) p. 227 note 32 and photo LXX. The near by monastery of Karpino appears to belong to the same group of buildings. For this building see: *Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia*, p. 86/87.

46 *Cultural Monuments*, p. 157.

47 The settlement is known under the name of Prilep since 1018 (See: *Encikl. Jugos.* vol. VI, p. 616).

standing⁴⁸ as well as some five churches from the 13th and 14th century, decorated with some of the best fresco painting of Yougoslav Macedonia⁴⁹.

In the course of the 15th century the town of Prilep shifted from its old site on the hill below the castle to the plain below where the main road passed. In this time the protection of the castle was no longer necessary as safety prevailed. The new site was better situated for the development of a commercial and trading centre than the old place which declined slowly in the course of time but remained inhabited till our time, known as Prilep - Varoş. The new town is about three km south, built on both sides of a small river. An important date for the transfer of Prilep to the new site is that on the inscription of the Çarşı Câmii which gives 881 (1476/77). The new place witnessed a slow development in the 16th and 17th centuries but grew into a leading trading centre of Macedonia with an important yearly fair in the 18th and 19th century. Evliya Çelebi describes Prilep in 1071 (1660/61)⁵⁰ as a town of ten mahalles and thousand houses. The town had the mosques of Alay Bey and Arslan Paşa besides a number of mescids. There were 200 shops, a pleasant hamam, a han and some medreses, mektebs and tekkes. Evliya adds that most of the public buildings of Prilep were the work of Koca Arslan Paşa. From the use of language may be concluded that this Arslan Paşa was Evliya's contemporary and still alive.

From this description we may imagine a relatively small town, a local centre of some importance. The great age of Prilep was the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1273 (1856/57)⁵¹ a great fire destroyed the Çarşı which was rebuilt along a well conceived regular plan which still characterises the town centre of today. In 1861 Von Hahn⁵² calls the Market of Prilep 'a richly stored new built bazaar'. The Kâmus al-A'lam⁵³, reflecting the situation for the beginning of our century, describes Prilep as a town with 18.000 inhabitants, ten mosques, five medreses, three tekkes and 2 hamams.

48 For this castle see: *Cultural Monuments*, p. 169-171. More details, plans and photographs by A. Deroko, *Markovi Kuli - Grad Prilep*, in: *Starinar V-VI Beograd* 1954-55.

49 For a brief description of these churches see: *Cultural Monuments* pp. 158-169, for the paintings also R. Hamann-Mac Lean und H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, Giessen 1963.

50 Šabanović, *Evlija Çelebija Putopis*, II, pp. 55-57.

51 See the inscription of the Clock Tower given in the following pages.

52 *Reise von Belgrad nach Saloniki* (op. cit.) p. 110.

53 *Kamus al A'lam* II, 1500.

Shortly before the Balkan Wars Prilep counted 21.500 inhabitants⁵⁴ whose number dropped till 18.200⁵⁵ after the wars as result of the emigration of a part of the Muslim community. Today Prilep has 37.486 inhabitants⁵⁶ among whom a very small Muslim Turkish minority which still possess one large mosque, the Çarşı Câmî'i from 1476. Schulze-Jena mentions in 1927 still a large han⁵⁴, known as Kurşunlu Han. Today only one wall is preserved from this important building which forms, together with the mosque and a clock tower the only preserved Ottoman works of the modernised town of Prilep.

Prilep, Mosque of Hacı Hüseyin ben Abdallah or Çarşı Câmî'i.

The mosque, in excellent state of preservation and still in daily use, is situated at the centre of the Prilep Çarşı as rebuilt after the fire of 1856/57. Today the mosque consists of two distinct parts, the original 15th century part and the enlarging from after mentioned fire. The latter part envelops the northern part of the old building to a large extent but leaves free more than three quarter of the lateral walls of the old building as well as its original mihrab wall. The new part of the mosque, occupying a space almost equal to the old building, has the rigid symmetrical forms of the Turkish Classicism of the later half of the 19th century, its length being exactly twice its width. The same is true for the number of windows, four in the short walls, eight in the long façade. The façades are divided in equal parts by means of wooden pilasters, the whole is finished by a wooden cornice above which the gently sloping tiled roof begins. The building materials are wood, brick and plasterwork. The new building contains a spacious vestibule flanked by two rooms one both sides, used for various purposes in religious and educational fields.

The old part of the building is a large room of 18.17 - 9.50 metres which is covered by a flat wooden 'Tavan' and a gently sloping roof of old tiles. The tavan is plain, without elaborate carvings or other adornment, probably a product of the 19th century repairs. The type of building is provincial and practical, destined to hold a large community. If the mosque as it appeared before the great repair was representative of the group of

54 Schultze-Jena, *Makedonien*, table on p. 130. *The Encikl. Jugosl.* VI p. 616 mentions 24.540 inhabitants in 1900 of which 16.700 Macedonians.

55 Schulze-Jena, table.

55^a *Encikl. Jugosl.* VI p. 616.

56 Schulze-Jena, *Makedonien*, p. 159.

buildings with a wooden roof resting on wooden posts and cantilevers cannot longer be said. A three aisled inner disposition, with two rows of posts is theoretically possible but far from certain as the space is comparatively narrow. One row in the centre is somewhat unusual but is in fact found in some 14th and 15th century wood-covered mescids in Ankara⁵⁷.

The mosque is built of fairly good cloisonné work, mostly of regularly cut blocks of grey granite, sometimes also coarse blocks or boulders, all fashioned in casements formed by layers of two horizontally placed bricks and layers of two or three vertically placed bricks. The walls are finished by a cornice of saw-tooths. The overall impression of the masonry is simple but extremely colourful and in strange harmony with the wood and plaster-work of the 19th century enlargement.

Above the entrance of the old building, now the prayer room proper, sits the original inscription in Arabic relating to the construction of the mosque in 1476/77. As far as we can see this inscription was not published before⁵⁸. The inscription is clearly written and cut in a slab of marble with white letters against a blue background. It reads as follows :

- 1) Amara bi-binā hādhā 'l-masdjid al-sharīf Hādjđjī
- 2) Hüseyin ibn 'Abd-Allāh. Sana wa thamānīn wa thamānīmī'a.

- 1) The construction of this noble mosque was ordered by Hadjđji
- 2) Hüseyin son of 'Abd-Allāh. The year eighthundred and eighty-one.

(881 = 26.4.1476 - 14.4.1477).

Thus the mosque is a work of the time of Fatih, most probably founded by a devshirme lord or a recent convert to Islam from the local merchant class

57 Examples of wood-covered mosques and mescids by Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk Devri Yapıdırı*, Ankara 1971, K. Otto-Dorn, *Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Kleinasien*, in: *Aus der Welt der Islamische Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel* Berlin 1959, pp. 59-88, or Yılmaz Önge, *Anadolu'da XIII-XIV. Yüzyılın nakışlı ahşap camilerinden bir örnek: Köşk Köy Mescidi*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi No. IX* (Istanbul 1971), pp. 291-296, Little-known wooden mosques also in: *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, Ankara 1972.

58 Mosque and inscription do also not appear in the 1953 edition of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimarisi*. His second, revised edition, also omits these works. In the Yugoslav literature at my disposal no mention is made of this and the following inscription in Prilep.

- 4a) The fire took place in the year 1273 (1856/57)
- b) Renewal of the clock : the year 1275 (1858/59)
- c) Written by Ahmed Sirri
- d) The placing of this stone : the year 1280 (1863/64).

The lines 2 and 3 are written in verse, metrum *remel*.

The next example of Ottoman Turkish architecture in Prilep, the Kurşunli Han still mentioned by Schulze-Jena⁶¹ in the twenties of our century, has not come down to us in good state. Of the once spacious and imposing building only one of the short façades remains standing together with the two short stretches of both long walls. However, enough remains to enable us to reconstruct the building. The remaining wall is 19.10 m long and 0.95 m thick. It is built of red and grey granite blocks with gigantic size cornerstones. At a height of about three metres above groundlevel the first row of four windows begins. On the inside these windows are rectangular, covered by brick arches with a round or slightly pointed form. At a little distance above the first row is a second row of windows of the same form, also four. Above these is a row of three windows which are placed between the lower, following the inward lines of the façade. The top of the façade is missing but we will not go far astray to reconstruct it with a fourth row of windows, this time only two. On the outside of the wall the windows are circular. A single square or rectangular slab of white marble has been fitted in each window opening, a slab which is pierced by a round opening filled with a fretted geometrical pattern (see photograph). A wall like this is undeniably part of a sizeable single kervansaray. Enough is known about the typology of this kind of Ottoman utilitarian architecture to tell us that the Prilep building was a rectangle of roughly 20 - 40 metre. covered by a large wooden roof resting on three slender stone pillars placed in one line in the central axis of the building⁶² and additional wooden supports placed in two lines at a distance of the low lateral walls. Stone benches for the travellers usually ran around the entire building, preceded by troughs for the packanimals⁶³. Examples of this kind of travellers' hostel, a simplifica-

61 Schultze-Jena p. 159.

62 Two rows of stone pillars, very unusual for this type of building, are excluded in Prilep as the hole for the horizontal beam which rested on top of the pillar as well as the console supporting it are preserved and visible on our photograph.

63 The entrance must have been in the now disappeared shorth façade.

tion of the great hans of Seljuk times, are known as early as the 15th century⁶⁴ and continued to be built throughout the 16th⁶⁵, 17th⁶⁶ and 18th centuries⁶⁷. In the Balkan lands this kind of building has become extremely scarce. In fact we only know the ruined kervansaray of Ram in Serbia⁶⁸ and similar, ruins, even less preserved, in the Bosnian townlet of Praca⁶⁹. The Kurşunlu Han of Prilep stood completely intact till about 15 years ago when it was demolished on order of a shortsighted citycouncil who intended to make a park on the spot. What remains of the building was saved by the intervention of the Institute for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Macedonia. So the ruin still stands, imparting an highly original note to the modern centre of Prilep.

The character of the masonry but first of all the form and decoration of the windows point to the 17th century. From Evliya Çelebi we know that the great founder of building for the public well being in Prilep was Koca Arslan Pasha as no other great building of this kind is known locally or from the literature we are certainly entitled to attribute this kervansaray to the above-mentioned provincial grandee. As such, the kervansaray was only a part of the building activities of Arslan Pasha which included, as mentioned by Evliya, a great mosque, a medresse, a mekteb, hamam and

64 An early example of a wood-covered kervansaray was published by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi in his *Fatih Devri*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 191/93, Yakub Bey Han. The building is dated by a inscription 868 (1463/64).

65 Büyük Çekmece from the sixties of the 16th century, published by Erdem Yücel, *Büyük Çekmece'de Türk Eserleri*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IX (1971), pp. 95-108. From the last quarter of the 16th century was the now demolished double kervansaray of Harmanlı, Bulgaria, built by Grand Vizir Siyavuş Pasha. For a old design of this large building see: Todor Zlatev, *Balgarskiat Grad Prez Epohata Na Vâzrazdaneto*, Sofia 1955, p. 78.

66 Ekmekcioğlu Han in Edirne from the first decade of the 17th century, a plan of this work was published by Feridun Akozan, *Türk Han ve Kervansarayları*, in: *Türk Sanat Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* I, Istanbul 1963, p. 141. The Vezir Han in the village of Vezirhan near Bilecik in from the second half of the 17th century, a very spacious double kervansaray, now a consolidated roofless ruin.

67 The great Han of Shoumen in Bulgaria is from the second half of the 18th century. A plan of is was apparently never published. The building was later transformed to Covered Market and is now in use as a tobacco store.

68 A plan of the ruin of this building was not published until now.

69 Mentioned by Derviş Tafro, *Spasavalački radovi na Turbetu u Prači i Malokočevom Turbetu u Donjem Kopčiču*, in: *Naše Starine II*, Sarajevo 1954, p. 221.

possibly a tekke also. It was apparently through the erection of these buildings, of which besides the described ruin nothing remains unfortunately, that the the new lower town of Prilep received the impetus to develop into one of the most important urban centres of Macedonia.

STRUMICA, Ustrumca.

The little town of Strumica in the extreme south of Yugoslav Macedonia, just north of the present Greek frontier, still preserves one monument of Ottoman Turkish architecture which deserves to become known.

The town is the Astracum of antiquity and is identified with the Tiberiopolis of Roman times⁷⁰. In the Early Christian period it was centre of the cult of the Forty Martyrs of Tiberiopolis. In later times Strumica was a ecclesiastical and military centre of the Macedono-Bulgarian state of Tsar Samuil and of the restored Byzantine state of the 11th century. Of this period the ruins of a large cathedral from the 10th and 11th centuries have been preserved in Vodoca just outside Strumitsa as well as the monastery of Our Lady at Veljusa⁷¹, built by the bishop of Strumica Manuel in 1080. Hundred metres above the town of Strumica on a steep, isolated hill still rise the ruin of a castle locally known as Tsarevi Kuli, the Towers of the Tsar⁷². In the 13th and 14th century Strumica was alternatively in Bulgarian, Byzantine and Serbian hands, following the great events of the particularly movementated medieval history of Macedonia. After the disintegration of the Serbian empire it was included in the state of Konstantin Dejanović and fell after the latter's death (1395) in Turkish hands together with Štip and Prilep. Little is known about Strumica in the first centuries of Ottoman rule. The area appears to have been controlled by the lords from the Evrenos family⁷³. One of these Evrenosoğlu, Mesih Bey, is ap-

70 *Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, pp. 199-200; Miodrag Jovanović, *Dve Srednovekovni Tvrđini vo Istoča Makedonija, Štip i Strumica*, *Zbornik Štípskiot Narodn Muzej* II, Štip 1960/61, p. 106.

71 For these churches see i.a. Miodrag Jovanović, *O Vodoci i Veljusi posle Konservatorskig raboti*, with eight plans and 24 photographs, in: *Zbornik Štípskiot Nar. Muž.* I 1958/59, further: V.J. Djurić, *Fresques du Monastère de Veljusa*, in: *Akten XI. Byzant. Kongresses München* 1958, pp. 113-122.

72 Published with plans and photographs by Jovanović, *Dve Srednovekovi Tvrđini*.

73 Hypothesis but very well possible, founded on the materials collected by F. Babinger, (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malqoç-oglu's*, in: most conveniently in: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* I, München 1965, p. 366 note 5.

parently the person buried in the well preserved türbe in the village of, Banjani seven km south-east of the town in the same Strumica Plain. This türbe is from the late 15th or early 16th century⁷⁴. More old Ottoman building activity is known in the immediate vicinity of the town, the Kaplica of Bansko, already mentioned by Katib Çelebi, or the monumental village mosque of Banica⁷⁵. In the town itself the castle appears to have been rebuilt and accomodated to meet the effects of gunfire. This must have taken place in the late 15th century⁷⁶.

In the 17th century Strumica is known as a Kadilik in the Sancak of Kjustendil⁷⁷. Katib Çelebi mentions a great and important yearly fair in August. The most detailed description of Ottoman Strumica is from Evliya Çelebi⁷⁸, who visited the town in 1081 (1670/71) on his way back from Albania to Istanbul. He describes the castle as totally ruined, a work with a circumference of 2.300 paces having three gates. The open settlement was situated on a slope and counted a 1.000 houses among gardens. The town consisted of 14 mahalles one of which was inhabited by Jews, Evliya noted one medrese, six mektebs, seven hans, and 500 shops. No particulars on mosques are given. Most probably their number was not very impressive. If Evliya's number of houses approaches the 17th century reality that the town must have remained stagnant in the greater part of the 18th and 19th century. In the last century the town began to spread over the plain at the foot of the castle hill. At the beginning of our century Strumica had about

74 A photograph of this türbe was published by Babinger, *Beiträge ...* A short description of the türbe and a photograph was given by Krum Tomovski in his *Pregled na Poznačajnite Turbinja*, cited in note 2.

16th century Strumica appears to have been a very small place; in a defter from the beginning of that century, used by Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumelija* (see note 41) p. 327 note 106, the town is registered with a civil population of 10 Muslim households, 5 Christian households as well as cemaat Akincis.

75 A short note on this mosque accompanied by a photograph was published by Krum Tomovski, *Za nekoj spomenici od Jugoistočna Makedonija, Djamija vo Selo Banica*, in: *Kulturno Nasledstvo V*, Skopje 1959.

76 See: Miodrag Jovanović, *Dve Srednovkovni Tvrđini*, p. 106/07.

77 *Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, pp. 199-200. Gökbilgin found in a defter from 1487 that Strumica was already a kadilik then (Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumelija*, p. 325 note 100).

78 *Seyahatnâme*, VIII, pp. 758/60.

8.000 inhabitants⁷⁹. The town was divided in 12 mahalles, 5 Turkish, 6 Christian and one Jewish. The Christians formed half the population. They spoke Bulgarian but had strong Greek sympathies. The Bulgarians took the town in 1912. When Strumitsa in 1913 was officially incorporated in the Bulgarian state a large number of the pro-Greek Bulgarians emigrated to Greece⁸⁰. The Turks left between the two World Wars, when the town was incorporated in the newly formed Yugoslavia, others in the fifties. Today Strumica has largely recovered and counted in 1961 already 15.978 inhabitants among which only a handful of Turkish families⁸¹. The newer parts of the town, in the plain, have been rebuilt according the principles of modern town planning, the Ottoman open town on the slope of the castle hill, the Orta Şehir, still preserves much of its old outlook. It is there that we find the only Ottoman building still preserved in Strumica, the Orta Câmi'.

Strumica, Orta Câmi'

The Mosque of the Middle doubtless bears this name because it is situated in the middle part of the town, between the castle and the lower quarters. Both castle and lower quarter must have had their own mosques. That in the castle has disappeared centuries ago, those in the lower town only in the last decades. The Orta Câmi' is a simple and provincial representative of the single-domed type. The prayerhall measures 11.80 - 11.80 m square. The interior space, a little less then ten metres square, is covered by a dome on four deep sitting pendentives. On the outside these pendentives have been made visible by the disposition of the windows which follow the inward curve of the dome-bearing elements. There are three windows in the lower register of the lateral walls, rectangular windows in a stone frame and crowned by a decoratively executed relieving arch of brick which is placed in a recessed rectangular field. Above these three windows is a register of three, considerably smaller, windows which end in a pointed arch. On top is a third row of only two windows. In the mihrab wall the central windows of the lower and the second register are omitted as their place is occupied by the mihrab. The solid square body of the mosque is finished by

79 See: St. Papadopoulos, *Écoles et associations Grèques dans la Macedoine du Nord durant la dernier siècle de la domination Turque*, in: *Balkan Studies*, vol. III (Thessaloniki 1962), p. 429.

80 *idem* p. 429.

81 According to the statement of the Hoca of Strumica only 14 Turkish families.

a pronounced cornice of saw-teeth above which the octagonal tambour rises. The latter element is comparatively low and also finished by a cornice of saw teeth. The dome, originally tiled with concavo-convex tiles is now covered by ugly machine-made roof tiles which spoil the original outline of the building. The masonry of the mosque is not the cloisonné or ashlar work of the classical phase of Ottoman architecture but a provincial product, composed of boulders and little worked blocks of granite, here and there intersected with courses of brick and only well worked large blocks of porous ashlar, known as 'bigor' at the corners. This rather coarse work was not covered with a coat of plaster but only partially 'souched' so that a lively and colourful effect is obtained. This masonry is related to that which is used on the small churches of the Struma area, built in Ottoman time in the 16th and 17th century⁸². The Struma district is not far from Strumica and can easily be reached through the vale of the Strumica River, a tributary of the Struma. In our opinion it is quite possible that our mosque was built by a group of builders of the Struma area as masters from the pure Turkish centres in Macedonia, as Skopje or Serres produced different works. Although these Bulgarian masters were well acquainted with Ottoman architecture they never fully mastered the pure Ottoman aesthetics in architecture. A feature which is also noticeable at many Islamic buildings in Bosnia, erected in Ottoman style but by Dalmatian builders. The true sense of harmony between the various parts of the work is missing there as well as in the Strumica mosque. Purely Ottoman, and of considerable quality however are the carved stucco mihrab niches in the portico.

Originally the Orta Cāmi' had a wooden portico, a son cemaat yeri. There are no traces whatsoever of arched and domes. During our visit in 1969 half of the wooden portico was still standing, the other half had collapsed but the holes for the rafters were clearly noticeable in the masonry. Originally this portico continued along the left side wall of the mosque, a part now changed to a house.

82 This group of churches, about two dozens in number, were the subject of a special study of the author of this pages which shall be published at another occasion. Notes on some of these churches were published in: *Ekspedicii v Zapadna Bālgarija, Bālgarska Akad. na Naukite*, Sofia 1961, the study of Georgi Stojkov, *Kultovi i Obstestveni sgradi iz Trānsko, Brezniško i Kjustendilsko*, pp. 79-178; and Asen Vasiliev, *Hudozestveni Pametnici i Majstori Obrazopisci iz njakoj selista na Kjustendilsko, Trānsko i Brezniško*, pp. 179-267.

Unfortunately the mosque has come down to us in a much altered state. The silhouette of the dome was spoiled when the new tiles were laid on an underground which had been changed to a flat eight-sided cone. A new minaret was erected on the site of the old one, showing little understanding for beauty. The whole building was fenced with iron railings between masonry post thus spoiling the old garden around the mosque. On the eastern side of the prayer hall a large house was built which forms one unit with the now half collapsed gallery. The house, that of the Hoca, is most probably built in the last decades of Ottoman rule, the minaret, new roof and fence from the thirties of our century.

The so typically provincial building, erected in a time that Ottoman architecture had already entered its state of slow decline, is safely dated by the original inscription in Turkish above the gate. It is written in ten half-verses divided over ten equal fields. The date is given as chronogram and is written in small characters underneath the latter. It has remained unpublished as far as we can see. Because of the difficulties of the style of writing and the language used we give it here in Arabic characters as well as in transcription and propose the following translation⁸³.

- 1 — اللہ یا مفتوح الابواب — افتح لنا خیرالباب
 2 — صاحب الخیرات اولان کاتب طوراق — خیر ایله یاد اولمغه بالاتفاق
 3 — سعی ایدوب بر جامع آباد ایلدی — اولیبه نامین بنی حقین اوراق
 4 — راه عدنه ایله یارب حبرینی — روز محشرده صراط اوزره براق
 5 — حق بو کیم دنیلسه تاریخی — جامک جنت اولاسکا طوراق

۱۰۲۲

- 1 — Allahümme ya mefetteḥ-ul ebvâb
 Eftâḥ lenâ ḥayr-ul bâb
 2 — Şâhib-ul ḥayrât olan Katip Ṭuraḡ
 Ḥayr ile yad olmaġa bil-ittifaḡ
 3 — Sa'y idüp bir câmi' abad eyledi
 Olmıya namın bî ḥaḡtan ıraḡ

83 For the transcription and translation of the Ottoman inscriptions given in this article I received the invaluable help of Mr. F. Th. Dijkema of Leiden, Mr. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi of Istanbul, Mr. Abdurrahim Dede, Istanbul and Mrs. Aliye de Groot of Leiden. For their unceasing help and suggestions I wish to thank them most cordially.

- 4 — Rah'ı adne ile ya Rab hayrını
Ruz-u maḥşerde şıraḫ üzre burak
- 5 — Hax bu kim denilse tarîhinî
Câmi'în cennet ola saña Turak

- 1) O my Lord, the opener of doors
make open the door of prosperity for us!
- 2) The scribe Turak who is the master of (this) pious foundation
Is entitled to be remembered with blessing by all.
- 3) Making an effort he had a mosque built
May it not be distant from God as your name is.
- 4) Send his blessing on the path to paradise O Lord!
Let him stand on the bridge of Sirat on the Day of Resurrection.
- 5) It is the truth that it is worthy of a chronogram:
«May your mosque be a Paradise for you Turak.»

1022 (21.2.1613 - 10.2.1614)

As the building is structurally in a good state only a little reconstruction work would give back the town of Strumica a historical monument of importance.

In these pages we have discussed half a dozen buildings of the provincial style of Ottoman architecture, buildings erected in the same uniform style and on a simple groundplan but in spite of this, not a single object is a copy of the other, and in each building the problem of vaulting or roofing is solved in a different manner, giving it a distinct character of its own. This proves, in our opinion not only how deeply Ottoman form had taken root in the Balkan countryside but also testifies to the creative power of the provincial masters, whether Christian or Turk, to use the multitude of architectural forms of classical Ottoman art, with which they were steeped, each for his own solution.

POSTSCRIPT

The Ottoman census and taxation registers of the 16th century concerning Yugoslav Macedonia, accessible for me since 1980, contain a few data which furnish a more detailed background to the buildings discussed in this study.

Štip

The Ottoman census and taxation registers of the 16th century give the following picture of the population of Štip:

Year	Households		
	Muslim	Christian	Jewish
1519	201	323	15
1550	259	271	41
1573	447	264	23

See: Aleksandar Stojanovski, *Gradovite na Makedonija od krajot na XIV do XVII Vek* (Skopje, Institute for National History, 1981), tables on pp. 67–69.

The register T.D. 167 (Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi) p. 249, gives a list of mahalles of Štip dating from 1531. There is no Mahalle of Hüsâm ed-Din Pasha and no mosque bearing this name. The register of the Sandjak of Kjustendil from 1573 (KuK No 85 in Ankara, fol. 339a) mentions a: 'Mahalle of the Noble Mosque of Hüsâm ed-Din Pasha, Newly Founded', with five households of functionaries of the mosque and three households of ordinary Muslim civilians. After this note follows a 'Mahalle of the Zaviye—Dervish convent—of the late Hüsâm ed-Din Pasha', with 8 Muslim households. As an Ottoman town quarter was usually considerably bigger these notes suggest that the mosque was standing perhaps five or ten years. A Hüsâm ed-Din Pasha active in the 1550s and 1560s is not mentioned in the otherwise rather complete and authoritative 'Sicill-i Osmâniyye' of Mehmed Süreyya, 4 vols (Istanbul, H. 1308–1311).

Kumanovo

The Mufassal Defter for the Sandjak Kjustendil from 1573 (KuK No 85, fol. 470, General Directorate of the Cadaster, Ankara) mentions Kumanovo as being a village which was the administrative centre of the Nahiye of Nagoriç(ane). In the year mentioned it contained 51 Muslim households and 23 Christian households, or perhaps 250–300 inhabitants. 23% of the Muslims were of local convert origin, the others largely Turkish colonists. Among the Muslims are mentioned an Imam with his assistant (halife) and a Muezzin, making certain that the place possessed a mosque of some importance—which can hardly be another than our Tatar Sinan Mosque. This makes a date in the first half of the 16th century, perhaps the middle, as the most likely date of construction for it.

In 1989 its state of preservation was the same as in 1969; nothing has been done.

Prilep

The Mufassal (Detailed) Ottoman census and taxation register M.M. 4 (B.B.A.), allegedly from 1467/68—but in fact, as Michael Ursinus has conclusively shown, from 1454/5—has Prilep with a Muslim community of only 21 households; the Christians had 300. The register T.D. 370, from 1528–30 shows a rather different picture: 210 Muslim, 463 Christian households. While the numbers of Christians show a more or less natural increase, the sudden increase of Muslims

shows the effect of colonisation. The year 1476/77, when the mosque in the new town was built, thereby promoting the settlement to the rank of town, is no doubt connected with this settlement of Muslim-Turkish newcomers from Anatolia. The further rapid increase of Muslims was partly at the expense of the Christians, who converted to Islam and were slowly Turkified. The 1568 register has 279 Muslim households, whereas the Christians had gone down to 326.

In 1989 the *Carşı Camii* of Prilep was in the same shape as twenty years before: neglected but structurally sound.

Strumica

P. 173, n. 71: The grand church of Vodoca has recently been entirely rebuilt!

The Ottoman registers T.D. 170 (B.B.A.) from 1519 and KuK 85 (Ankara TKGM) from 1573 contain figures on the size and the religious/ethnic composition of the population of Strumica which we summarise as follows:

Year	Households		
	Muslim	Christian	Jewish
1519	266	274	0
1573	377	208	3

From these we may conclude that before 1519 some sizeable colonisation by Muslims from Anatolia took place, which in the course of the 16th century was reinforced by a substantial number of local converts to Islam. In 1573 the latter numbered 117 households, or 31% of the total of Muslims. It is the pattern shown by most Macedonian towns in the 16th century (in the 15th century conversion was rare). The colonist group was strong enough to Turkify the local element.

The 1573 register mentions the names of two mosques in the town—the Old Mosque of Sultan Murad Han and the New Mosque—and twelve *mesjids* and two Islamic schools. This confirms our idea that the name of our 'Mosque of the Middle' derives from its position between that of Sultan Murad in the castle and the New Mosque in the lower town.

During excavations carried out in the 1980s beneath and in front of the *Orta Cami* the foundations of a church were found, as well as fragments of wall painting belonging to the 12th century. The mosque is now deserted and in the same bad shape as in 1969. It is, however, a protected 'Cultural Monument'.

Banitsa

(See Fig 19): The Census and Taxation register KuK No 90 in T.K.G.M., Ankara, fol. 35b from 1570, mentions 27 Muslim households in Banitsa and 16 unmarried men, as well as 16 Christian households. Eleven of the Muslim households were local converts, the remainder Turkish colonists. Among the inhabitants an Imam and a *Müezzin* are mentioned, proving that the mosque existed before 1570.

IX

THE TÜRBE OF SARI SALTİK AT BABADAG - DOBRUDJA

Brief historical and architectural notes

Time and man have dealt harshly with the historical monuments of the many centuries the Dobrudja, the dry steppe country at the western coast of the Black Sea near the estuary of the Danube, since 1878 included in Rumania, was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. It would be logical to expect that the few buildings dating from Ottoman times have shared the full attention of the world of science and are well known. However, this is not the case, just as it is with most works of Ottoman art in the majority of other Balkan countries. In these few pages we would like to bring to the attention of a larger circle of peoples a small and almost forgotten building from the Ottoman period, a building which was recently saved from total destruction through a complete and competent restoration. We mean the türbe of Sarı Saltık Dede at Babadag in the northern part of the Rumanian Dobrudja as this little building constitutes one of the very last tangible remains of a particularly agitated period of the history of this part of South Eastern Europe, namely the Seljuk colonization in the 13th century and the founding of the cultural and religious centre of the earliest Muslim Turkish colonists of the Balkans! The town of Babadag itself owes its name to this event; the Islamization of large parts of the Balkans, carried out by dervish missionaries of various kind, a process which greatly added to enlarge the base for the spread of Ottoman Turkish Islam and its culture, was to a large extent facilitated by the cult of Sarı Saltık, a popular saint who was identified as the early patron and missionary of the Bektashi Way and functioned as a bridge between Christianity and Islam. This is the real importance of the humble türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag. The architectural forms of the building are rather plain.

* A part of the information used in this article was obtained during a journey in Rumania which was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organization of Pure Scientific Research, Z. W. O., The Hague.

The history of the early Turkish colonization of the Dobrudja and the origin of the Turkish speaking Christian population of that area, the Gagauz, and the various problems connected with it have been disentangled by some of the best orientalists, orientalist linguists and historians of our time and need not to be repeated here in detail¹. However, the importance of this period is such that a few words should be said in this context in order to furnish a proper background against which the humble material remains preserved in the Babadag of our time will be better understood.

Ever since the downfall of the Classical civilizations the Dobrudja has been a borderland between the settled empires of the early middle ages and the hosts of nomad peoples pouring in from the East. The Huns were followed by the Avars, the Bulgars, the Peçenegs and the Qypçak (Cumans)². Eventually the land became incorporated within the frontiers of the Turco-Tatar state of Southern Russia³.

1 See for example: Paul Wittek, *Les Gagauzes = Les gens de Kaykâūs*, «Rocznik Orientalistyczny» vol. XVII, 1952, Warszawa, 1952 (Memorial Tadeusz Kowalski); Paul Wittek, *Yazi jioğhlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja*, «Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies», XIV/3, London 1952, p. 639-688;

Tadeusz Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue Turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est*, «Mémoires de la commission orientaliste de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences», no 16, Krakow, 1933; Tadeusz Kowalski, *Les éléments ethniques Turcs de la Dobrudja*, «Rocznik Orientalistyczny» XIV, Warszawa, 1938, p. 66-80;

P. Mutafčiev, *Die angebliche Einwanderung von Seldschuk-Türken in die Dobrudscha im 13. Jahrhundert*, «Spisani na Bălgarskata Akad. na Nauka i Izkoustva» LXVI, Sofia, 1943, p. I - 129; H. W. Duda, *Zeitgenössische Islamische Quellen und das Oguzname des Jaziğioğhlu Ali zur angeblichen Besiedlung der Dobrudscha im 13. Jahr.* in the same «Spisani», Sofia, 1943, p. 113-145. Both this last two studies, which contain very valuable historical information, are discussed in the studies of Wittek mentioned above and their conclusions are, on good grounds, rejected; Aurel Decei, *Le problème de la Colonisation des Turcs Seljoukides dans la Dobrogea au XIIIe siècle*, «Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, VI, Ankara, 1968, p. 85 - III; Jean Deny, *Sari Saltıq et le nom de la ville de Babadaghi*, in: «Mélanges offerts à Emile Picot, Paris, 1913, p. I - 15.

Other detailed information, especially on ethnological and linguistic matters by D. G. Gadžanov, *Vorläufiger Bericht des Lektors der Türkischen Sprache an der Univ. von Sofia. Reise im Auftrage der Balkan Kommission zur türkischen Dialektstudien in Nord-Ost Bulgarien*, «Anzeiger der Keiserl. Akad. der Wissensch. Phil-Hist Klasse», XLVI, Jahrg. 1909, No V, Wien, 1909, p. 28-42, and the same Zweiter Vorläufiger Bericht, same «Anzeiger» Jahrg. 1912, No III, p. 13-20. Other literature will be mentioned furtheron in this article.

2 A general survey of this period is given by René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris, 1965 (German edition Kindler, München, 1970, the chapters 4 and II 6: *Die Russische Steppe von 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, p. 244-263 and *Das Khanat von Qyptschak*, p. 536/557. Also Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig, 1945.

3 Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 549. In detail P. Nikov, *The second Bulgarian Kingdom*, Sofia, 1937 (in Bulgarian).

The interesting excavations of the fortress of Pačuiul lui Soara⁴ on the other hand, most clearly demonstrate the endeavours of the settled empires, the Byzantine and the Bulgarian, to maintain some kind of control over the much threatened but strategically important land. The older Turkic peoples, arriving from the steppes of Southern Russia, must have left an ethnic, or at least a linguistic imprint on the population of the Dobrudja of which the linguistic researches of Kowalski⁵ apparently found the traces. W. Zajaczkowski even regarded the Christian Turks of Dobrudja, which were reinforced by the immigrations from the Seljuks of Asia Minor and together formed «an independent Oghuz state with the capital Karvuna.»⁶ Witt tek traced the history of the Seljuk colonization of the Dobrudja as meant by Zajaczkowski by a comprehensive study of the Byzantine and Turkish sources⁷. These Seljuks, who came from the South, from the already (partly) Turkified Anatolia, are not as nebulous as the older groups of Turkish or Turkic emigrants, arriving by way of Southern Russia, as their history can be more or less reconstructed from documentary evidence. The main source of the Seljuk colonisation is Yazıcıoğlu Ali, written in 1424. The reliability of this source was demonstrated by Wittek⁸ against charges of Duda⁹ and Mutafčiev¹⁰. According to Yazıcıoğlu a considerable group of Turks arrived in the Dobrudja as followers of the deposed Seljuk sultan Izz al-Din II Kaykaus. Among them was the blessed Sarı Saltık as their religious leader. This was after 1263/64. The Byzantine emperor Michael VIII whose guests they were, settled the Turks in an area which was at that time a kind of no-man's-land between the Tatar state of the Golden Horde, the Bulgarian state and the Byzantine Empire¹¹. They founded two or three towns and became rather numerous. According to Inalcik the note of the Arab geographer Abu 'l-Fida that the majority of the population of «Sakdji» - Issaccea - was Muslim means that they were

4 On Pacuiul lui Soare see for example: Radu Popa, *La Porte Nord de la Forteresse Byzantine de P.L.S. «Dacia» Nouvelle Série XI*, Bucarest 1967, pp. 270-292, with further literature. Interesting notes on the colonization of the northern Dobrudja by Normans of England in the 11th century, sent there by Byzantine emperor to colonize the practically uninhabited borderland of the empire are given by Krijna Ciggaar: *L'emigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066*, in: *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 32, 1974, pp. 301-342.

5 Tadeusz Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la Langue Turc...*, cited on note 1.

6 Włodzimierz Zajaczkowski, in *Encycl. of Islam*, N. E. Leyden 1965, art. Gagauz on p. 971-972, With rich literature on ethnical and linguistic questions.

7 Paul Wittek, *Yazijioghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja*, cited on note 1.

8 Idem, also Wittek: *Les Gagaouzes*, on note 1.

9 H. W. Duda, *Zeitgenössische Is. Quellen*, cited on note 1.

10 P. Mutafčiev, *Die angebliche Einwanderung*, cited on note 1.

11 Halil Inalcik, *Encycl. of Islam (E. I.) New Edition*, art. Dobrudja, p. 610.

the Seljuk colonists from Anatolia rather than the Tatars settlers of Noghay¹². The story of Yazıcioğlu continues with stating that the Byzantine emperor feared a too great power of his Turkish subjects in the Dobrudja «because they were 10 or 20.000» and killed and imprisoned a number of their leaders. Izz al-Din was freed by the Tatars together with two of his sons but his mother, a relative of the emperor, and two younger sons were deported to Verria in Macedonia where they received land in feudal possession. One of the Seljuk princes remained in Verria and died as a Muslim. His children were converted to Christianity and with them their retinue. When the Ottoman sultan Yıldırım Bayezid¹³ conquered Verria (1385) he found the Seljuk descendants still living there. They followed Yıldırım in his campaigns and received the land around Zichne (Eastern Macedonia) from him as their fief. Yazıcioğlu added that they came «recently» to renew their documents. This must have occurred in 1421 after the ascension of Murad II to the Ottoman throne (in any way before 1424 when the author finished his manuscript). The historian worked at that time at the Ottoman chancery and must have spoken personally to these Seljuk descendants¹⁴. Our only source concerning the fate of the followers of Izz al-Din so far was Yazıcioğlu. After Wittek had demonstrated the validity of this source the Greek scholar Zahariadou published five documents¹⁵ of the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi which confirmed the story of Yazıcioğlu on the Seljuks of Verria. In fact they had become Christians much earlier than the Turkish source has it but they indeed were big land owners in the Verria region after the year 1265, active as protectors of the Holy Mountain, about which the five documents speak. They confirm the reliability of Yazıcioğlu's story in the most conclusive way. The Seljuks of Verria, after their deportation to Zichne by Yıldırım Bayezid, continued to live in and around the last mentioned place as Turkish speaking Christians and were still there at the beginning of our century¹⁶.

12 idem, p. 610.

13 Actually Verria was taken under Murad I in 1385, four years before Bayezid came to power. Most probably the great meeting of Verria under Bayezid I in 1392 is referred to in the story of Yazıcioglu; for this see Aşıkpaşa-zâde, German translation of R. F. Kreutel, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1959, p. 101.

14 Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes*, p. 18 - 22.

15 E. A. Zahariadou, *Oi Hristianoï apogonoi tou Izzedin Kaikaous sti Verroia*, (The Christian descendants of Izzeddin Kaykaus in Verria), «Makedonik», VI, Thessaloniki, 1964 - 1965, p. 62 - 74.

16 For these Turkish speaking «Greeks» in Macedonia see: Paul Wittek, *La descendance chrétienne de la dynastie Seljouk en Macédoine*, «Echos d'Orient» XXX, 1934, p. 409-412. They are also mentioned by Schultze-Jene, *Makedonien, Landschafts und Kulturbilder*, Jena, 1927, p. 180. The process of Hellenising this people, fostered by Greek schools and church, was in an advanced state in the time Schultze-Jena travelled.

The emigration of Izz al-Din to the Dobrudja, his imprisonment and subsequent liberation by the Tatars of Noghay is known from other sources as well. According to Grousset¹⁷ the liberation took place in 1265/66 or in 1269/70 after a defeat of the troops of emperor Michael VIII by the Tatar army of Noghay. Izz ed-Din moved to the Crimea where he married a daughter of Khan Berke and received the town of Sudak as apanage. The Muslim Turkish colonists, who under the guidance of Sarı Saltık remained to live in the Dobrudja, appear to have been protected by the powerful Qypçak-Turkish (Mongol) leader Noghay who himself was recently converted to Islam. This conversion is brought in connection with the activities of Sarı Saltık. It must have taken place about the time of Khan Berke's death (1267)¹⁸. The position of the Seljuk Turks in Dobrudja must have been well secured during the entire last quarter of the 13th century. Between 1280 and 1292 their chief menace, the Bulgarians, were completely neutralised as the machinations of Noghay (and Byzantium) succeeded to rise the Cuman (Qypçak) nobleman Georgi Terter to the Bulgarian throne at Tirnovo during whose reign Bulgaria became a Tatar protectorate¹⁹. Noghay was killed in 1299 and his son Ćeke (Tschaka) in the year after, in Tirnovo²⁰. The ruler in the area adjacent to Dobrudja became Tugal Bugha, son of Khan Tokhtu (Toqtai), both papans²¹. Yazıcıoğlu remarks that the Muslim Turks decided to emigrate because the Bulgarian princes had risen to power and occupied large parts of the land²². They emigrated in several waves to North Western Anatolia. At this time Sarı Saltık Dede must have died, according to Wittek shortly after 1300²³. Being without powerful protectors, harassed by the Christians and without their old leader they must have preferred to leave. This occurred about 1309. Those who remained were converted to Christianity and became the Gagauz, «Les gens de Kaykaus» as Wittek demonstrated. In the Ottoman registers of the late 16th century some of their descendants still bore Turkish names, (Arslan, Balık, Karagöz etc)²⁴. The 14th century saw the rise of an independent state in the Dobrudja under Dobrotič, who gave his name to the entire dis-

17 Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, German edition, p. 546. Unfortunately Grousset does not mention his sources. The contemporary Ibn Bibi, critical edition by H. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, p. 282-285, describes the flight in detail. Ibn Bibi was the main source of Yazıcıoğlu, he also notes the liberation of the sultan by the Tatars of Berke.

18 H. Inalcık, in E. I. New Edition, art. Dobrudja, p. 610.

19 Grousset, p. 549.

20 Inalcık, in E. I. p. 610; Grousset, p. 550.

21 Inalcık in E. I. p. 610

22 Wittek, Yazıcıoğlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks, etc. p. 615.

23 idem, p. 658.

24 Inalcık in E. I. p. 610.

trict²⁵. The capital of Dobrotiič's state, Kaliakra, has been unearthed by recent Bulgarian excavations²⁶. Those Turks who had emigrated to Anatolia settled in the recently founded Turkmen principality of Karasi. Yazıcioğlu²⁷ noted a tradition, still alive in his time, that they arrived in several waves. He also knew that the remaining Turks lost their ancient faith. It is interesting to note that the Emirate of Karasi was involved in continuous warfare with the Christians across the Dardanelles. When this state was incorporated in the young Ottoman empire (by 1334/35-H. 735) the latter inherited a group of experienced military leaders and the old conflict with Byzantium. Although only hypothetical it appears very probable that among the Ottoman vanguard of conquest of Thrace were a considerable number of Seljuk descendants of the old colonists of Dobrudja. In fact only little more than one generation lies between their arrival in Karasi and the first Ottoman expeditions on European soil.

On the historical personal of Sarı Saltık Dede very little is known in fact. He certainly was a strong and persuasive personality. He is said to be a native of the Central Asian city of Buchara. Almost all we know of him is found in the Vilayet-name of Haji Bektash²⁸. The historicity of this work was doubted by Georg Jakob²⁹ but accepted by Birge, still the greatest authority on Bektashism. Birge regarded the Vilayet-name as a historical source from the period prior to 1400 with only a few later interpolations³⁰. Both Claude Cahen³¹ and George Arnakis³² used it as such. Cahen also mentions a Saltuk-name which is not contemporary to Sarı Sal-

25 This is the generally accepted idea. Recently doubts were raised against it by Hans Eideneier on the XIVe Intern. des Etudes Byzantines at Bucarest (1971). See: *Résumés-Communications, Supplément, Quatrième Thème, Ein früher Beleg für «Dobruddja»?* which brings the name D. as far back as the 12th century.

26 Georgi Djingov, Kaliakra and the feudal Bulgarian principality in Dobruddja, in: XIVe Congrès Intern. Bucarest, 1971, *Résumés-Communications*, p. 13-15.

27 Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes*, p. 22.

28 It has been translated into German by E. Gross, *Das Vilayet-name des Hağgi Bektasch*, «Türkische Bibliothek» No 25, Leipzig, 1927. For the original text see: Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı, *Vilâyet-nâme, Manâkib-i Hünkâr Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî*, Istanbul 1958.

29 Georg Jakob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwischordens der Bektaschis*, «Türkische Bibliothek», No 9, Berlin, 1908, and by the same: *Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zur verwandten Erscheinungen*, «Abhandlungen der Phil. Hist. Klasse der Königl. Bayerische Akad. der Wiss.» XXIV, III, München, 1909.

30 J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937, p. 46-51 and 74.

31 Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey, a general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, London 1968, p. 354.

32 G. G. Arnakis, *Futuwwa traditions in the Ottoman Empire, Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes and Craftsmen*, «Journal of Near Eastern Studies», XII, 4, 1953, p. 243-244.

tuk but still a very early work^{32a}. The oldest known note on Sarı Saltukis that from Ibn Battutah of Tangier³³ who on his way from the court of the Khan of the Golden Horde Özbek in Southern Russia to the Byzantine capital visited «a town known by the name of Baba Saltık, who, they say, was an ecstatic mystic». The town is described as being at the frontier of the Turkish (Tatar) dominions and the Roman territory. Ibn Battutah passed along the place in 1332/33³⁴. Although it is not possible to identify Baba Saltık with Babadag this appears the most likely. According to the above mentioned Vilayet-name Sarı Saltık was one of the most intimate companions of Haji Bektash³⁵. The same source continues stating that Sarı Saltık founded a Tekke in Kilgra-Kaliakra in the Dobrudja and came by way of Georgia. However, a very reliable source as Yazıcıoğlu relates that he came with the followers of Izz ed-Din across the Bosphorus during the reign of Michael VIII.

In their ancient homes in Central Asia men like Haji Bektash (died prior to 1295)³⁶ and Sarı Saltık had been exposed to centuries old religious syncretism between Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Manichaean, Christian, Gnostic and Islamic elements and an atmosphere laden with religious spirituality³⁷. Taeschner even calls Transoxiana «the matrix of a ecstatic religiosity and corporative religious life»³⁸. Once in Anatolia they were the driving force in the formation of other religious organisations known for their syncretism, especially the Bektashiye³⁹. Sarı Saltık was included in the pantheon of Bektashi saints and his cult spread far and wide over the Turkish dominions, first of all over the Balkans. According to a legend noted by Evliya Çelebi in the mid 17th century⁴⁰ the God man himself ordered his followers to bury his body in seven different places in order to have an equal number of reasons for pilgrimage of Muslims, which would ultimately lead to the incorporation of those districts to the state of Islam. Again according to Evliya coffins were placed in Babaeski (Turkish Thrace/, in Kaliakra, in Babadag, in Buzau in Wala-

32a Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, p. 354.

33 Arabic text and French translation of C. Defrémy and B. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, four vols. Paris, 1853-1859; Baba Saltuk: II, p. 416.

34 Inalcık, E. I. p. 610.

35 Vilâyet-nâme, German translation, p. 73.

36 Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, p. 40-47, proved that .he saint died before H. 695 (= 1295-1296).

37 Arnakis, *Futuwwa traditions*, p. 241.

38 Franz Teaschner, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der 'Achis in Anatolien*, «*Islamica*», IV, 1929, p. 14.

39 The basic work on these processes still remains that of Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fuat, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, Istanbul 1918; see also his *Les Origines du Bektashiisme in: Actes du Congrès Intern. d'Histoire des Religions*, II, Paris, 1925, p. 391-411.

40 Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, III, 133 vv.

chia, and even in Danzig⁴¹. With the expansion of Bektashism in Europe a number of other 'graves' of Sarı Saltık were 'discovered'. So in the Albanian Kruja, where he came to supplant an ancient place of veneration of some mountain- or nature god, in Korfu where he was identified with the popular Saint Spiridon, in Sveti Naum on the Lake of Ohrid where he impersonated the Apostle of the Slaves, Naum, in the Albania city of Skutari or at Blagaj at the sources of the Buna in Hercegovina⁴². A tomb of Sarı Saltuk Dede is also shown in the ancient Ottoman capital of Iznik (Nicaea) a building of the late 14 th century⁴³. The chief centre of the cult of Sarı Saltık, however, remained at Babadağ⁴⁴ «the Mountain of the Father». The latter is of course Sarı Saltık himself.

Already in 1934 Babinger pointed to the necessity of a thorough investigation of the «half historical-half legendary figure of Sarı Saltık». Viewed against the background of the enormous political and cultural influence of the Bektashi Order, which contributed so much to a better understanding among the nations and religions or produced such a voluminous and fervently mystical and lyrical poetry⁴⁶ and caused a magnificent monastic architecture into being⁴⁷ this necessity seems even greater.

When after 1393 the Ottomans brought the Dobrudja directly under their cont-

41 Idem, p. 133 vv. The complete story of the miraculous life of Sarı Saltık, based on Evliya, is to be found in Jean Deny, *Sarı Saltık et le nom*, etc.

42 For the later forms of the cult of Sarı Saltık and the various places where graves of him were venerated see especially F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Oxford, 1929; also Hasan Kaleshi, *Albanische Legende um Sarı Saltık*, «Actes du Premier Congrès Intern. des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Europeennes», VII, Sofia 1971, p. 815-828.

43 See: Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik*, Berlin, 1941, p. 79-80, and Tafel 33, I. More türbes of Sarı Saltık are known in Anatolia, so for example that in Diyarbakır behind the Urfa Gate, presumably built in the 16th century. See: Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi*, Istanbul, 1971, p. 169-170 and photos 43 and 43 a.

44 Babinger in *Enzykl. des Islams*, IV, Leiden, 1934, p. 185.

45 These tendencies are the most conspicuous and convincing in «Fletore e Bektashiniet, (Bektashi Sheets), of the Albanian Bektashi Naim Frasheri, Bucarest, 1896 and Salonique, 1910, which was very popular in his time and was generally accepted in Bektashi circles. For an English translation see: Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, p. 554-562.

46 A survey of Bektashi and Alevi poetry is given by Sadeddin Nizhet Ergun, *Bektaş-Kızılbaş Alevi Şairleri ve Nefesleri* three vols. Istanbul, Maarif, In the general work on Ottoman literature of Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri-1299-1915*, gives a survey of no less than 288 mystical or religious writers and poets who were dervish. Bektashi poets like Yunus Emre or Kaighusuz Abdal, whose works breathe of deep sincerity, purity and real lyricism, rank among the greatest masters of Ottoman poetry. For the subject in general see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols., London, 1900-1909, or the compact survey of Köprülü-zade Mehmed Fuat in *Enzykl. der Islam*, IV, art. *Türken*, Die Osmanisch-Türkische Literatur, p. 1011-1033.

rol a number of sectarians and heterodox Turks moved into the area⁴⁸. The religious climate, which emerged after the fusion of the heterodox newcomers from Anatolia and the existing groups since the time of Sarı Saltık, was an excellent base for the revolutionary activities of the well-known reformer-free thinker Sheikh Bedreddin of Simav⁴⁹ in the years around 1416, which shook the empire at its very foundations. The conversion (or reconversion) of parts of the Dobrudja population to Islam is brought in connection with the actions of this man who actually taught the equality of all religions. The support of the Rumanian prince Mircea the Old, who was the temporary master of Dobrudja, to the revolt of Bedreddin is known. When after 1419⁵⁰ the area was definitely incorporated in the Turkish state, after Mircea's death, the new lords embarked on a large scale resettling and colonising of the devastated land. Barkan and Inalcık⁵¹ published data on the extent of this colonization which made Dobrudja a real Turkish land. In the 16th century Babadag

47 The architecture of the Bektashi Order has not yet been studied in a comprehensive manner. Due to the destruction of the Order under Mahmud II in 1826 most of the great monasteries were demolished. What remains in places like Seyyid Gazi near Eskişehir in Western Anatolia, or at Akyazılı near Balçık in the Bulgarian Dobrudja or at Kidemli Baba near Nova Zagora is sufficient to give an idea of the former might and perfection of this monastic architecture. Detailed descriptions of the former appearance of the above mentioned dervish centres are given by Evliya Çelebi. See for example: Semavi Eyice, Varna ile Balçık arasında Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi, «Belleten T. T. K.» No 124, Ekim, 1967, p. 551-600; M. Kiel, Bulgaristan'da Eski Osmanlı Mimarisinin bir yapıtı, «Belleten» XXXV, No Ocak 1971, p. 45-60; Karl Wulzinger, Drei Bektaschi Klöster Phrygiens, Berlin, 1913, (especially on Seyyid Gazi) On the latter see also Godfrey Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture, London, 1971, p. 180-184. The statement on p. 182 that a part of this large tekke was originally a Christian convent, of which the church and the cells still remain, is not correct; Metin Sözen proved that the «church» in reality is a Seljuk türbe of a special type of which he gives many examples. Sözen also corrects the views of Wulzinger as to the older parts of the tekke (See Metin Sözen, Anadolu'da Eyvan Tipi Türbeler), «Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları» I, İstanbul, 1968, p. 167-210.

48 Inalcık, E. I. Dobrudja, p. 610.

49 On Bedreddin see: F. Babinger, Schejch Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simav. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sektenwesens im Altosmanischen Reich «Der Islam», XI, 1921; Abdülbâkı Gölpınarlı, Sınavna Kadısı oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin, İstanbul 1966; H. J. Kissling, Der Menaqybnâme Scheich Bedred-Dins, Sohne des Richters von Samavna, «Zeitschrift Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft», 100, 1950.

50 Inalcık in E. I. p. 611.

51 Masses of documentary evidence on the Ottoman colonization of Dobrudja and the Balkans in general is found in: Ö. L. Barkan, İstila devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişler ve zâviyeler, «Vakıflar Dergisi», II, 1942, p. 279-386; or: Ö. L. Barkan, Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'empire Ottoman, «Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul», IIe année, No I/4, 1953.

is mentioned among the minor local centres⁵². In a report of 1597 it is described as having 16 Muslim districts but only 2 districts inhabited by Christians⁵³. The name of the town is given as Baba or Baba Kasabası. Several Ottoman rulers showed personal interest to the relics of pre-Ottoman Islam in Babadag. Bayezid II visited it in 1484 during his campaign against Kilia and Cetatea Alba⁵⁴. According to Evliya Çelebi⁵⁵ he ordered the construction of a large mosque, to be built there together with a medrese (college) and a bath. Evliya relates the story of the reconstruction of the ancient Islamic centre in a legendary manner which, however, must contain many elements of truth. According to him when Bayezid arrived in Babadag a number of trustworthy people told him of the old turbe of Sarı Saltık which was desecrated by the unbelievers and in ruins. During the night Sarı Saltık appeared to sultan in a dream, predicted his victory over the Unbelievers of Bogdan (Moldavia) and asked him to free his body from the dust with which it was covered. During excavations on the indicated spot the next day they found a marble sarcophagus with an inscription in «Tatar characters» telling: «Here is the tomb of Saltık Bay Seyyid Mehmed Ghazi». Although the details given by Evliya may give reason to doubts, the identification of the town of Babadag with the place where Sarı Saltık lived, the Baba Saltuk of Ibn Battutah, must in our opinion be accepted as the right one. In fact only 150 years lie between Ibn Battutah and Bayezid II. It is very important to note that Evliya mentions some of the sources⁵⁶ he used for his story, works which, according to Babinger, are lost now but which once bridged the gap of a century and a half. These are two. A 'Menâqib' or 'Remarkable actions', written by the well known author of the Mohammadiye, Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed of Gallipoli, who died in 1451⁵⁷ (his tomb in Gallipoli - Gelibolu - still remains a place of veneration today)⁵⁸ The second source was a «Saltuk nâme» which was a compilation of older works and was made by Koca Kenan Pasha, married with the Otto-

52 M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in: «Belleten T. T. K.», XX, 1956, p. 254/55, 266/67. A Serbo-Croat translation of this valuable study appeared in «Prilozi» za *Orientalnu Filologiju*, XVI-XVII, Sarajevo, 1970, p. 307/342.

53 Inalcık in E. I. p. 612.

54 On this campaign see in detail: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr et Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Etudes Ottomano-Roumaines, La conquête des cités marchandes de Kikia et de Cetatea Alba par Bayezid II*, «Südost-Forschungen» Band XXIII, München, 1964, p. 36-90.

55 Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme*, III, p. 366-370.

56 Evliyâ Çelebi, III, 366.

57 Details on the life and works of this long famous mystic writer and poet see: E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, I pp. 391-410, London 1900, s.

58 It was seen as such during the visits of the author of this pages to Gelibolu in 1970 and 1972.

man princess Atike Sultane, the daughter of Ahmed I.⁵⁹ Kenan Pasha was governor of the Vilayet of Özü (Oczakov) and Silistra in the years 1635 - 1636. The Vilayet in which Babadag was situated. Among the older works Kenan Pasha used for his compilation Evliya mentions a «Futouhat (Futuwwa) -i-Tokhtamish». Tokhtamish the Khan of the Golden Horde, the man who destroyed Moscow (August 1382) ruled between 1380 and 1397/99⁶⁰. We do not know his contacts with Northern Dobrudja in which Babadag lies, but the area was in any way very close to his sphere of interest and easy to reach when passing by the Danube fords at Isaccea. From 1241 onward the area immediately east of Dobrudja, the Budjak (the name derives from the earlier Cuman settlers and means «corner») had been a part of the territories of the Golden Horde. This with two short intervals, around 1345 when it was occupied by the Rumanian principality of Walachia and around 1400 when it was occupied by the Voyvode of Moldavia^{60a}. According to Grousset⁶¹ the empire of Tokhtamish stretched from the Dnjestr to the Syr-darja in Central Asia. If between the above mentioned dates Budjak was included within the frontiers of state of the Golden Horde, the period corresponds precisely with the reign of Tokhtamish, I do not know. It seems safe to conclude that Tokhtamish was the closest possible neighbour of Babadag. As Sarı Saltık is regarded as the man who brought Islam to the Tatars Southern Russia^{61a} (in the time of Noghay) an interest in the life of the saint shown by Tokhtamish is highly probable. The Khan of Golden Horde must have been born in 1330-1340 and could easily have spoken with men who had known Sarı Saltık personally. In our opinion the now hidden works mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, dating from about 1380-90 and 1430-50 constituted the link between Ibn Battutah and Bayezid II and make it certain that Babadag is the real place where Sarı Saltık lived and worked. On no other of the alledged six places where he was buried we have such an information as available about Babadag^{61b}.

Evliya continues his story telling that Bayezid immediately ordered to reconstruct the türbe and to built a large mosque at the place. After his return from Kilia and Cetatea Alba he restored the town of Babadag by enriching it by a number

59 See: Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmanî*, modern Turkish edition Gültekin Oransay, Ankara 1969 pp. 71, 142 and 200. Original Ottoman edition, vol 4, p. 83.

60 Grousset *L'empire des Steppes*, German edition 1970, pp. 556/7 and 605/6.

60a Halil İnalcık in *Encycl. of Islam*, new edition vol II article Budjak, p. 1286.

61 *L'empire des Steppes*, German edition p. 556.

61a İnalcık in E.I. article Dobrudja p. 610, with further references.

61b On some later (16th century) documents on Sarı Saltuk see: İ. Okıç, Sarı Saltuk'a ait bir fetva, in: Ankara Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi I, 1952, pp. 48-58 also Y.Z. Yörükân, Bir fetva müinasebetiyle fetva müessesesi, Ebu Suud Efendi ve Sarı Saltuk, same periodical no I, pp. 137-160.

of pious foundations among which a medrese and a hamam and endowed the tax revenue of the town and the surrounding villages as vakf (pious foundation) to Sarı Saltık. «Even today the town of Babadag is the Khass (fief) for Baba Sultan⁶²». This last remarks of Evliya are confirmed by a Vakıf Defter on this foundations preserved in the Ankara Archives⁶³ and by two later documents on the same object from the years 1078/1667 and 1111/1699 in the Topkapı Saray Archives in Istanbul⁶⁴.

During his campaign against the Voyvode of Moldavia, Petru Rareș, in 1538, sultan Süleyman showed the same interest to Babadag and Sarı Saltık. He remained four days in the town visiting the tomb and doing his devotion⁶⁵. The tomb is also mentioned by the Polish traveller Otwinowski in 1557⁶⁶ and by Evliya Çelebi in 1652⁶⁷. Evliya and shortly after him Philip Stanislavoff (1659)⁶⁸ describe Babadag as a large and prosperous place. Evliya called it a flourishing commercial centre with 3.000 houses and 380 shops. He gives the names of three large mosques, the Ulu Cami of Bayezid II near the tomb of Sarı Saltık, the Ali Pasha Camii on the Marked Place and the Defterdar Dervish Pasha Camii. The town had three hammams, three medreses, 8 khan -caravanseray-, 20 primary schools (mekteb), 11 Dervish tekke's. and a number of small mosques (mescid).

The later history of Babadag is that of continuous decay and depopulation caused by the raids of the Cossacks and the Russian invasions during the numerous wars of the 18th and 19th century. Especially ruinous was the Russian invasion of 1828/29 which caused a mass emigration of the Turkish-Tatar population⁶⁹. Babadag was destroyed by enemy fire on various occasions and rebuilt in poor style, reflecting the sad state of affairs in the province.

The depopulated land became colonized by Rumanian cattle breeders, mainly from Transylvania⁷⁰. By 1850 these newcomers formed the second largest ethnic

62 Evliya Çelebi III, p. 367.

63 Tapu ve Kadastro Umumi Müdürlüğü, Ankara, No. 397, cited by Inalcik E.I. p. 612.

64 Arşiv Kılavuzu, İstanbul 1938, i, 52, cited by B. Lewis in E.I. II, 1965, p. 842.

65 Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pachazadéh, published and translated by M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, p. 80 vv. or J. von Hammer, Gesch. Osm. Reichs II, i, p. 202.

66 Cited by Hammer, G.O.R. I, p. 686, II p. 804 and III p. 708.

67 Evliya Çelebi III pp. 262-270. For the date see B. Lewis in E.I. II, p. 843.

68 Cited by Ion Negoiescu, Monografia orașului Babadag, Braila 1904.

69 Inalcik, E.I. p. 613.

70 Constantin C. Giurescu, Transsylvania in the History of the Rumanian People, Bucurest, 1968, p. 68.

group in the district, immediately after the Turks⁷¹. The emigration of Turks continued after 1878 when Dobrudja had become a part of the Rumanian state. In these years a host of Islamic monuments disappeared⁷², a process which was only stopped after the Rumanian people's Republic was founded and took the works under its care.

Today the town of Babadag has recovered from its ruins and disorganization of previous periods. The centre has been rebuilt in a modern way and some of the most important monuments of Islamic architecture have carefully be restored. These are the fountain (Çeşme) of the 17th century, the mosque of Gazi Ali Pasha, built in 1620, and the türbe of the same man (see photographs). Stanescu, in his study of the Turkish monuments of the Dobrudja., also mentions a medrese and a hamam among the works of Ali Pasha⁷³. The last vestiges of these last mentioned buildings disappeared in the beginning of our century. Stânescu also mentions the famous works of Bayezid II, the foundations of which were still visible at the end of the last century⁷⁴. All that today remains preserved of the once imposing tekke of Sarı Saltık is the humble türbe of the saint.

The türbe of Sarı Saltık as we see it today is situated on the edge of the town, not far from the mosque of Ali Pasha. A few Turkish families live in this part of the town and still remember the place but not its historical background. The türbe is built against a low hill and sits with its rear end more than two meters deep in the ground. It consists of a domed tomb chamber which measures internally 4.85 - 4.85, and a portico of 4.86 m. wide and 2.96 m. deep. This portico is open on the frontside. The portico has a primitive wooden roof supported by three wooden posts. On the outside the dome of the tomb chamber is completely masqued by its tiled roof which forms one sole part together with the roof of the portico. The walls of the türbe vary in thickness between 0.96 m., 0.92m., and 0.86 m. They are built of very rough hewn blocks of stone which are only a little more fashioned at the corners. The dome rests on four coarse pendentives of a kind we come across with in various

71 Inalcık in E.I. Dobrudja, p. 613 has this general remark. Detailed information on the population of the Dobrudja in the last years of the Ottoman period see the *Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Tuna* No. 6, Rusçuk 1290 (1873/74), pp 264 - 282 and 309 which gives for the kazas of the sancak of Tulça, (Tulça Sünne=Sulina, Babadag, Maçın, Köstence, Hırşova, Mecidiye) and the nahiyeh Mahmudiye and Kili and the kaza of Mangalya, being almost identical in size with the present Rumanian Dobrudja 24.044 Muslim households and but 12.726 Christian households. The numbers are given village by village.

72 For this process before 1944 and the changes after that date see: H. Stanescu, *Mouvements d'art Turc en Dobrudja*, in: *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, III, Bucarest 1961, pp. 177-179.

73 Stanescu, *Monuments* p. 180.

74 Stanescu, *Monuments* p. 179.

provincial Ottoman buildings of the 18th century. This feature, as well as the character of the masonry supplies us with some points to establish the date of construction of the türbe. Stânescu supposed a date somewhere in the 14th or 15th century⁷⁵. This is difficult to prove. The türbe is either of very ancient date, built immediately after the death of Sarı Saltık, i.e. 1300, or it is a reconstruction from after the time of the Russian invasions, when the lack of economic resources prevented the construction of a building of greater quality. In fact we have no other Islamic building from the 13th - 14th century in South - Eastern to use for comparison. If we assume that the türbe was built by the Seljuk - Turkish colonists themselves, after the death of their leader, it should, be a work reflecting the humble material resources and rudimentary technical knowledge of a society of nomadic colonists resembling in spirit the earliest works of the European colonists in the North American «Wild West». In fact our building has all characteristics of such a cultural environment. To find a work of similar kind of society, nomadic or semi - nomadic warriors, we must turn our attention to the oldest territories of the Ottoman principality, the area around Bursa in North - Western Anatolia. There, in the village of Genbemüz Köy between Mudurnu and the Lake of Iznik a mosque is preserved which dates from the very first years of the principality, under its founder Osman I, then still a minor leader of a group of Warriors of Faith who defended the extreme frontiers of the Islamic world. This is the mosque of Samsa Çauş⁷⁶, a person mentioned in the Ottoman chroniclers between the years 699 (1299/1300) and 704 (1304/05) which makes his building almost contemporary with the death of Sarı Saltık. The mosque of Genbemüz Köy is a small size building of the most primitive character, built of rough broken stone with little mortar. Beams are used to give the walls more strength, just as at Babadag. Construction and general concept of both buildings is almost identical. These facts may confirm the views of Stanescu, as to the very ancient date of the türbe. However, there must remain a considerable amount of

75 Stanescu p. 179. He writes «Sa ressemblance aux points de vue style, proportions, matériaux de construction, avec les turbéhs de Brousse (Bursa) des XIVe et XVe siècles est évident». (on p. 189 of the same study, however, he writes «debut du XVIe siècle») We disagree with Stanescu on this point as the works preserved in Bursa show a much more evolved and gracious style whereas the workmanship is of much greater quality. For the plans and photographs of the minor monuments of Bursa see first of all the rich work of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri, 1230-1402*, Istanbul 1966, pp. 49-119 and 384-482. See also E.H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II Sultan Murad Devri, 1403-1451*. Istanbul 1972, pp. 36-135 and 275-372.

76 Published by E.H. Ayverdi in *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, pp. 10-13. Aşıkpaşazâde, German translation of R. Kreutel, Graz-Wien-Köln 1959, pp. 33 and 51.

uncertainty as in fact the same workmanship and little understanding for architecture reappeared in the time of decline of the Ottoman empire, in the 18th century. In domestic architecture the same humble techniques had always remained in use but for religious and utilitarian buildings better work was used as soon as the state evolved to a higher level of culture. The earliest works in the new Ottoman capital Bursa (after 1326) demonstrate this rise most clearly. An element which points to the 18th century rather than to an early period is the use of pendentives. However, 14th century pendentives can be explained as an influence of the local Byzantino-Slav environment. It could also be argued that during the reconstruction of the türbe by Bayezid II in 1484 such a humble building would not have spared but to removed take place for a fine work of architecture, more in accordance with the refined tastes and technical ability of that time. The description of what happened during the building activities of Bayezid II as given by Evliya Çelebi appear to confirm this last hypothesis. However, the arguments for a total newbuilding are not convincing as the türbe could have been spared as an act of piety, a practice of which more examples are known⁷⁸. Personally I am more inclined towards a later date, somewhere in the 18th century but I am not certain. In fact the exact date of the türbe is not as important as the fact that the little monument marks the very historical spot with which so many great personalities are associated. No serious doubts about this can be raised.

In the portico of the türbe a fine cylindrical gravestone remains preserved. It most probably comes from the graveyard that once surrounded the tomb of the Holy Man. It has a very elegantly written inscription in Arabic which bears witness to the prosperity and high level of culture in Babadag of the 17th century which is in accordance with the reports of Evliya and Stanislavoff. The stone is dated H. 1050=1640/41. As far as I can see this inscription has not been published⁷⁹. It is given below integrally.

1. al merhûm al mağfûr al sacîd al şehîd al muhtâc ila rahmet Allah
2. İbrâhîm Çelebi ibn al-ğacc Meğmed 'Alî

⁷⁸ A definite case is that of the tekke of Sayyid Battal Ghazi near Eskişehir in North-Western Anatolia where a türbe from 1207 was spared and incorporated in the reconstructed Tekke of 1511/12. For details on this building see: Karl Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaschi Klöster etc* and Metin Sözen, *Anadolu'da Eyvan tipi Türbeler*, (op. cit. on note 47).

⁷⁹ Stanesco mentioned the stone in his study *Monuments* but only gave the name of the person to which it belonged. Instead of İbrahim Çelebi, son of Hadji Mehmed 'Alî, he gives «İbrahim Çelebi son of Hadji Ahmad» which is incorrect. The transcription and translation of this inscription I was controlled by Dr. F. Th. Dijkema, whose help and valuable suggestion I would like to acknowledge.

3. intakala ila civâr Allahi ta'ala fi şahr şafar al-muzaffar
4. li-sana hamsîn wa-alf rûlîcîn fâtiha.
1. He who is admitted to God's mercy, whom God forgives his sins, the felicious one, who died for the sake of Faith, who needs God's mercy,
2. Ibrahim Çelebi son of Hadji Mehmed Ali
3. may he be forgiven - is transferred to the presence of God
- he be exalted - in the month of Safar the Victorious
4. of the year thousand fifty. Recite a Fatiha for his soul.
(The month Safar of 1050 runs between 23 May and 20 June 1640)

Until recently the türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag was in a terrible state of disrepair. As cult centre it has been abandoned and forgotten long ago. Stănescu warned sixteen years ago that the walls would soon collapse. During our visit to the place in October 1967 we found the situation even worse. The wooden sarcophagus the famous man was broken to pieces and a large part of the lateral wall of the türbe was ruined to an utmost dangerous extend. Because of the extreme moisture of the walls we thought the building would collapse the next winter. However, during our second visit to Babadag, in September 1971, it was still standing but with even larger cracks in the walls. In the past 25 years the Rumanians have developed a considerable interest in the preservation of the Islamic monuments which becomes visible in the careful restorations of buildings like the Hünkâr Mosque at Constanta (Küstence), the Ali Pasha Mosque and türbe at Babadag, the Esmâ Sultan Mosque at Mangalia and others. When we, at the occasion of the XIVth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Bucarest (Sept. 1971), brought the sad state of the forgotten monument of Babadag to the notice of the authorities in charge they reacted with the thorough restoration of the building in 1973. We may hope and expect that this interest is going to be continued and will lead to excavations beneath the now saved monuments as well as to the excavation of the foundations of the nearby buildings of Bayezid II. As the last mentioned buildings were the largest and most imposing Ottoman monuments ever erected on Rumanian soil such excavations will yield interesting details in the field of oriental art. Excavations under the türbe of Sarı Saltık will offer specialists the opportunity to study the skeleton of the saint and enable them to discern between fact and fiction in the life of this remarkable man and may yield details about the presence of earlier constructions beneath this small but historically so important monument, revealing the course of its development.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL TENDENCIES IN THE OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE BALKANS

Ottoman architecture has generally been regarded as a monolith – a uniform and highly monumental art, whose geographical boundaries ran parallel with the advance of the Ottoman armies. Pure Ottoman architecture, however, hardly penetrated the Arab lands.¹ It even stopped at the gates of Eastern Anatolia² where various semi-independent Kurdish princes faithfully clung to the art of the Seljuks, which under their patronage witnessed a curious renaissance.³ The idea of a monolithic art although attractive, is not wholly true, as many local variations can be detected. However, the words “local schools” should be used with the greatest care. A factor of great importance here is our scanty knowledge of the full development of Ottoman architecture in the former European provinces. The role of the Balkans has undeniably been a great one, as much of what was genuine Ottoman was born and matured there. With the conquest of the Balkans the little principality of Orhan and Murad I became an empire, where most of its characteristic institutions were formed, creating the base of its multi-national character. When the Ottoman empire lost the Balkans, it was lost itself. The emergence of the various independent Balkan states of modern times has had catastrophic consequences for the works of Ottoman art as it resulted in the wholesale destruction of monuments of architecture. A few numbers may suffice to give an impression of this destruction. Belgrade and Sofia had according to a number of Western European travellers over a hundred mosques: today Belgrade has one and Sofia two mosques. The great Ottoman centre of Serres, now in Greek Macedonia, had, according to the official Ottoman records of the beginning of this century more than 60 mosques;⁴ today the ruins of three of them still stand. At the beginning of this century Rousse on the Bulgarian Danube counted 36 mosques,⁵ today one. An official Ottoman list of medreses in Rumeli enumerates 166 medreses in various cities and towns of this part of the empire.⁶ Today eight of them survive, of which five are situated in the old capital Edirne. Thus from the other towns of Rumeli only three medreses have been preserved. The percentage of buildings lost ranges between 95-98%. The losses in the field of civil architecture, market halls, caravanserais, baths etc are on a comparable scale: from the magnificent chain of caravanserais along the 1000 miles of the Belgrade-Istanbul Highway, only one has been preserved together with some vague ruins of four others. The numbers given here say only something about the quantity. About the quality of the works lost we can only guess. Among the losses are the oldest works of Ottoman architecture in Europe such as the mosque of Candarli Hayreddin in Serres of 1386, demolished in 1938 or the late 14th century hamams of Ghazi Evrenos in Komotini in Greece, demolished only four years ago and that of Saruca Pasha in Haskovo in Bulgaria, blown up with dynamite a decade ago.

The Ottoman Empire although the direct heir to the empire of the Anatolian Seljuks of Rum, emerged basically from former Byzantine and Balkan-Slav territory. In the emerging architecture of the Ottoman Turks we see both Seljuk and Byzantine-Slav components influencing each other enriched by genuine Turkish concepts rooted in the history of Central Asia. After a century a half of experiments and fusion a purely Ottoman art matured, reflecting the pragmatic spirit of the Ottomans as well as the great vision of its founders: an art with a refined code of aesthetics of its own, and with a strong individuality that is unmistakable.

When the Ottoman principality of Orhan and Murad I was still in its formative state the conquest of the Balkans took place, and was accompanied by a large-scale colonisation of the eastern half of the Balkans

peninsula. Prior to the Ottoman conquest this land was in a ruined state. Thrace was destroyed by the endless border wars between Bulgaria and Byzantium, by eight years of terror under Catalan robber barons and by the terrifying destructions of thirty years of Byzantine civil war in which the Turks took part as mercenaries. Eastern Bulgaria was depopulated desert, destroyed by centuries of Tatar raids from Southern Russia. The plains of Thessaly and Macedonia were also largely empty and had to be repopulated.⁷ In districts where the original Christian population had survived, in Western Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, Bosnia and Central and Southern Greece, no Turkish colonisation is recorded nor was it necessary.

The consequences of the Ottoman conquest and colonisation of the Balkans were many. In the repopulated areas the great masses of Moslem Turks formed a solid ethnical base on which Ottoman art could develop. In the course of time Balkan Slavs in nearby areas became converted to Islam,⁸ and adopted Ottoman forms for their sacred buildings. It is interesting to remark that the works in the converted areas are different from those produced in the ethnic Turkish areas. This difference is basically due to lack of understanding of such features of Ottoman aesthetics, as balance of volumes and proportions. The exact nature of this phenomenon and its background still needs to be studied in detail. Another result of the conquest was the elimination of the upper stratum of mediaeval Balkan society, the court of the Byzantino-Slav rulers and the aristocracy, the major patrons of Balkan Christian art. Only the Orthodox Church remained to continue this role. This change led to a marked decline in production and in the course of time it is also affected the quality of the work. It can be imagined that unemployed Christian master builders would therefore look for work in the Turkish building yards.

The sudden incorporation of extensive territories in the Balkans had resulted in a great and pressing need for Islamic buildings – mosques, medreses, baths, dervish's lodges, and, when trade was resumed, caravanserais and hans. In the Balkans none of these buildings existed before the coming of the Turks. Only in a few cases could some large churches, taken as symbols of victory, be used as mosques. This need for Islamic buildings revolutionised Ottoman art. Cheap easily erected buildings needed to be developed, buildings which nevertheless possessed enough monumental character to dominate their architectural environment. Early Ottoman art as it had flourished in western Anatolia before the conquest of the Balkans showed two styles. Works of cut and polished stone adorned with rich sculpture in the Seljuk manner were erected side by side with works in the new style, using the local cloisonné (casement) masonry with simple, though decorative, ornamental brickwork (Fig. 1), ultimately derived from Byzantine patterns. It seems therefore natural that the Balkan works of the first decades, in which Ottoman art was transplanted to Europe, followed the Anatolian patterns. This was indeed the case till about the mid 15th century. Works such as the mosque of Mehmed I in the Greek township of Didymoteichon (1402),⁹ that of Ishak Pasha in Skopje (1435),¹⁰ or the Uç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne show¹¹ a continuation of the old Seljuk stone masonry techniques (Fig. 2). The architect of the Didymoteichon mosque, Hacı İvas Pasha, even came from old Seljuk territory, – the eastern Anatolian city of Tokat. He is also the architect of the famous Green Mosque of Bursa, erected in the same splendid but conservative style. Other early works, however, are built in the much cheaper brick and stone technique, native both in former Byzantine Western Anatolia and in the Balkans. The İmaret Cami of Ghazi Evrenos in Komotini, (1385),¹² the Yildirim Mosque in Edirne, (1399),¹³ the Great Mosques of Jambol¹⁴ and Sofia,¹⁵ both from the first half of the 15th century or the magnificent İmaret Cami of Plovdiv erected in 1444,¹⁶ can be cited as prominent examples. By about the mid 15th century, when Ottoman art in the Balkans no longer depended on Anatolia but had firmly taken root in Europe we see a noticeable change. Whereas in the Bursa region the art continued in the established manner for more than half a century the architecture of the Ottoman Balkans showed a much more pragmatic spirit. Its forms become logical, and all complicated ornamentation is abandoned in favour of a stern and well balanced general appearance (Fig. 3), designed to dominate the settlement in which it was erected. In the last quarter of the 15th century this tendency is very obvious. The Bursa area remained static, while the art of Rumeli slowly evolved towards the aesthetics of the Classical period, the 16th century.¹⁷ The scant number of monuments preserved does not allow us to make any categorical statement but it appears nevertheless to be certain that the greatest contribution in the development of Ottoman architecture was made in Rumeli. A few examples

illustrating this tendency should be cited. The enormous single-domed mosque of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria, built in 1408¹⁸ is the logical outcome and perfection of ideas first tried out, unsuccessfully, in Anatolia. Here it found its definite form, at least for the Early Ottoman period. The highly original mosque of Jambol built in the 1420s helped greatly to prepare the way for a building as the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne; in the construction of the dome of the latter, (almost 80 feet wide) the architects of Rumeli's capital succeeded in surpassing all previous work and laid the cornerstone for the enormous centrally organised inner spaces of the Classical period. Edirne in the 15th and 16th centuries produced its own form of single-domed mosque, a type that became popular in a number of lesser cities in Rumeli. Edirne and its environs also produced a group of hamams which show a great individuality both in plan and decoration. These works point to a direct contact between Rumeli and the bath culture of Mamluk Syria.¹⁹ How this phenomenon occurred is not yet known. Another illustration of the progressive and individual character of the art of the European provinces is the once magnificent mosque of Iskender Bey Evrenosoglu in Yenice Vardar²⁰ once a flourishing Moslem cultural centre, now a sleepy provincial town in Greek Macedonia. The mosque of Iskender Bey, today a mutilated ruin, was built in 1510. It is the first to make use of the huge half domes on pendentives, elements used at St Sophia in Constantinople in the 6th century and revived by the Ottomans after half a millennium, to play a major role in the mastery of the problems of space in the great works of the Classical period. The Yenice mosque is contemporary with that of Sultan Bayezid II in Istanbul but the element of the half dome is used in an experimental way not seen before or after. [21]

It is remarkable that some areas of the Ottoman Balkans did not share in the more progressive trend. In certain areas, especially in Central Macedonia, with Monastir-Bitola as the chief centre, we see that the old system of decorative brick work masonry was used for 60 or 80 years longer than in other parts of the Balkans. The mosque of Hacı Mahmud in Bitola, built in 1527,²¹ is a very distinctive example (Fig. 4). The Bitola area was thus an island of conservatism similar to Bursa. It is curious to notice that in the Byzantino-Slav art of the Bitola district,²² architecture and painting show a similar conservatism in the period prior to the Ottoman conquest. There must be a connection between the two kinds of conservatism. It is clear from a number of Ottoman census documents that the greater part of the Moslem population of Bitola consisted of local converts, especially newcomers from the villages, who became submerged in the culture of Islam.²³ The greater part of the Moslem population of the surroundings of Bitola still speaks its local Macedonian-Slav dialect. It appears to us that the Bitola Moslems kept something of their pre-Islamic attitude towards art. The form in which Ottoman art came to their environment, an early 15th century form, was kept and cherished by them long after the appearance of new forms because their form and manner was the "real one". A "modern" building, as the great mosque of Cadi Ishak Celebi, built in 1506,²⁴ was not taken as an example for later works until more than half a century had elapsed. Ishak came from Bitola. He had served as judge in many places, Thessaloniki, Plovdiv, Tatar Pazarcik etc.²⁵ and might therefore have been more open to accept new forms. [22]

In Albania and Bosnia we see a related kind of conservatism. Albania was incorporated into the empire at the beginning of the 15th century, for strategic reasons. Throughout the 15th and 16th century a very limited number of mosques was built in Albania because the need of the small Ottoman garrisons for such buildings was but modest. Since the last part of the 17th century and especially in the course of the 18th century the Albanian nation became converted to Islam. In this period, however, Ottoman art had already entered its state of decay. It therefore happened that the many mosques built during these centuries showed the uninspired, clumsy forms of the 17th century provincial art of Macedonia, which was imported to Albania. Ottoman art in Albania thus lacked solid roots. It was an art, imported by a thin "Herrenschicht" of alien governors and administrators, as only patrons. Models and masters were taken from the thoroughly Ottomanised Balkan hinterland, which might be the reason why the art of the 18th and 19th century showed hardly any typological development. Forms and aesthetics remained something alien and hence showed no natural development. In the field of decoration, however, the Albanian mosque shows great originality as here it links up with the Post-Byzantine art. In these ages the Albanian lands were so isolated from the chief centres of the empire that not the slightest echo of the great art of the Lale Devri in the

capital was heard. It is remarkable to see how much the ethnic composition of an area has determined the nature of its taste for Ottoman art. It is necessary therefore that as much attention as possible is devoted to unravelling such situations. Only an adequate survey of the ethnic situation of an area in which a certain phenomenon is detected, as well as all information concerning the background and motives of those who ordered the various buildings to be erected, will give us the change to understand this problem fully.²⁶

In Bosnia the situation was very different but resulted in a same kind of conservatism. Before the coming of the Turks the inaccessible and little developed land was inhabited by a Slav population which had suffered terribly from religious persecution. Bosnia had strongly been affected by the heretical Christian sect of the Bogomils. Just before the coming of the Turks these heretics had finally been brought back to the mother church but greatly against their will. When the Turks advanced into Bosnia the long oppressed masses were attracted to Islam, whose sober tenets and egalitarian tendencies appealed to their own ideals.²⁷ In the following process of urbanisation (the Ottomans founded almost all the large cities of Bosnia)²⁸ this conversion to Islam increased. When Ottoman civilisation therefore flourished in the mountain valleys of Bosnia the country was governed not by foreigners but by a class of native Bosnian, Slav-speaking governors and administrators who were the chief patrons of Ottoman architecture.²⁹ Just as in Albania the models and sometimes the masters had to be imported from the main Ottoman centres in the hinterland. In the greatest works, however, the source of inspiration appears to have been the Ottoman capitals, Edirne and Istanbul, with which the closest relations were maintained. Bosnia itself had hardly any tradition in stone construction. To bring over whole groups of master builders from the Balkan hinterland would have been too expensive. The Bosnian beys therefore appealed for help to nearby Dalmatia.³⁰ The Dalmatians had their own methods of building. So we see that the domes of the great Bosnian mosques were built of small pieces of stone instead of the fine Ottoman brick (Fig. 5). The kind of masonry is not the colourful cloisonné but a work built up of small blocks of cut stone. These stone domes were cemented and then covered with lead foils. The genuine Ottoman dome was, according to a very ancient Anatolian technique, covered with a "blanket" of earth and straw over which the lead was applied. and rows of pots or tubes to absorb undesirable reverberation were used on large scale (Fig. 6). In the Bosnian domes the first pot still needs to be discovered. In Bosnia we also do not see the highly characteristic early Ottoman pattern of triangular folds to support the domes. The pendentive, much easier to construct and native to Dalmatia is used exclusively. This art, Ottoman in form and Dalmatian in execution became in the course of time a local Bosnian art. For the people of Bosnia, converted to Islam by their own conviction, the forms which they had accepted together with their conversion had something canonical. A factor which further might have influenced the typical Bosnian version of Ottoman art, is the Bogomil background which despised the luxurious places of worship. In the second half of the 16th century the stern and sober art of Bosnia spread out all over the freshly-conquered plain of Hungary. Here since hardly any links with the native art could be established, the approach is similar to that of Bosnia with which Hungary's Moslem ruling class was connected by close family ties.³¹ Ottoman art in Hungary could not run its normal course however as its development was rudely cut off by the Christian reconquest of the land in the late 17th century.

Within the limits of this paper these remarks can only draw attention to a section of the problems concerning the development of Ottoman architecture both in the Balkans and in a broader geographical context. I have tried to indicate how little is actually known about the various artistic currents and about the faces that brought them into being, and to give an idea of how much work of investigation in both archives and [24] in the field still urgently needs to be sponsored.

POSTSCRIPT

The Begluk Cami in Livno, Bosnia, here shown as a ruin (fig. 5) was rebuilt in the 1970s. The Dükkančik Cami in Skopje is still (1989) a sad ruin. The Livno mosque was half destroyed during World War II, while [25] the Skopje mosque collapsed during the terrible earthquake of 1963.

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1. In Aleppo for example the principal Ottoman structures of the 16th Century – the mosques of Husref Pasha, Bahram Pasha and Osman Pasha – are Ottoman in planning but Syrian in execution and decor. In Damascus only the monumental Tekke of Sultan Süleyman is basically Ottoman.
2. Well illustrated in the buildings of Pertek and Bayburt. See:- BURAT, Osman, Pertek Baysungur Camiinin Taşınması. *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 10, Ankara 1973, pp. 289-298.
3. For the “Seljuk Renaissance” in the Bitlis area see:– ARIK, Oluş, *Bitlis yapılarında Selçuklu rönesansı*. Ankara 1971.
4. See *Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi*. 1906/07 A.D. – 1324 H. p. 385.
5. EŞREFOĞLU, Eşref, Bulgaristan Türklerine ve Ruscuk'taki Türk eserlerine dâir 1897 tarihli bir rapor. *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* I, İstanbul 1971, pp. 19-36.
6. This list was published in modern Turkish transliteration:– ÖZERGİN, M. Kemal, Eski bir Ruzname'ye göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri. *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* sayı 4-5, İstanbul 1974, pp. 262-290.
7. For the situation in Thrace see:–
 JIREČEK, K., *Geschichte der Serben*. Gotha 1911, I, pp. 379-381.
 JIREČEK, K., *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*. Vienna 1891, p. 48.
 Mid-14th Century sources such as Gregory of Sinai explicitly mention the thinly populated wasteland stretching between Edirne and the Balkan Mountains.
 For the situation in North-East Bulgaria see:–
 JIREČEK, K., *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*. Vienna 1891, pp. 38-51.
 The Black Sea area was in the words of Andreas di Palatio a “desertum”. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battutah, who passed through the same area on his way from the Crimea to Constantinople in 1332/32 wrote: “The town of Baba Saltik (now Babadag in the Romanian Dobrudja) is the last which belongs to the Turks (the Tatars of South Russia). Between it and the Greek empire is 18 days journey through deserts without any inhabitants”. (The Travels of Ibn Battutah, translated by H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge Hakluyt Society 1962, Vol. 2).
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9. AYVERDI, Ekrem, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde Celebi ve II Sultan Murad Devri*. Istanbul 1972, pp. 136-150.
10. AYVERDI op. cit. 9, pp. 557-570.
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13. AYVERDI, Ekrem, *Osmanlı Mimârisinin ilk Devri*. Istanbul 1966, pp. 484-494.
14. KIEL, Machiel, Some early Ottoman monuments in Bulgarian Thrace, Stara Zagora - Jambol - Nova Zagora. *Belleten Türk Tarih Kurumu* 38, sayı 152, Ankara 1974, pp. 635-656.
15. AYVERDI, Ekrem, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde Fatih Devri*. Istanbul 1974, pp. 853-857.
16. AYVERDI, op. cit. 9, pp. 479-485.
17. This tendency is most clearly illustrated in two mosques of Inegöllü İshak Pasha in Inegöl near Bursa (1476) and in Thessaloniki (1484).
For the Inegöl mosque see:—
ÜLGEN, Ali S., Inegöl'de İshak Paşa Manzumesi. *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4, Ankara 1958, p. 192.
TAMER, Vehbe, Fatih Devri Ricalinden İshak Paşanın Vakfiyeler ve Vakıfları, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4, Ankara 1958.
For the Thessaloniki mosque see:—
ANHEGGER, Robert, Beiträge zur Osmanischen Baugeschichte III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre. *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 17, Tübingen 1967, pp. 312-330.
18. AYVERDI, op. cit. 13, p. 496.
KIEL, Machiel, op. cit. 12.
19. KIEL, Machiel, The Ottoman Hamam and the Balkans. *AARP (Art and Archaeology Research Papers)* 9, London 1976, pp. 87-96.
20. DEMETRIADES, Vasilis, The tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Bey and its inscription. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39, part 2, London 1976, pp. 329-332.
KIEL, Machiel, Yenice Vardar -- Vardar Yenicesi -- a forgotten Turkish cultural centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th Century. *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* 3, Leiden 1971, pp. 300-329.
21. TOMOVSKI, Krum, Džamii vo Bitola. *Zbornik no Tehničkiot Fakultet Univ. Skopje 1956/57*. Comments also based on author's investigations during fieldwork in 1969, 1972 and 1976.
22. For the strong conservative tendencies in Christian art in the environs of Bitola and Ohrid see:—
MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, Petar, L'Eglise de St. Elie près de village Grnčari. *Byzantion 1968*, Brussels 1969, pp. 422-432.
MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, Petar, Tsarkvata Sv. Joven Kareo vo Ohrid. *Kulturno Nasledstvo III*, No. 4, Skopje 1967.
KOČO, Dimče and MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, Petar, *Manastir*. Skopje 1958.
23. SOKOLOSKI, M., Turski Izvorni Podatoci od XV i XVI Vek za Gradot Bitola. *Glasnik Institut za Nacionalna Istorija* 7, part 1, Skopje 1963, pp. 127-156.

24. TOMOVSKI, op. cit. 21.
25. Biographical information on Kadi Ishak Ćelebi and details of his vaqfnamehs is given in KALEŠI, Hasan, *Najstariji Vakujski Dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na Arapskom jeziku*. Priština 1972, pp. 145-218.
26. Various problems concerning Ottoman art in Albania were discussed by the author at the Vth International Congress of Turkish Art held at Budapest in September 1975. The proceedings are under publication.
27. Numerous views varying between direct mass conversion and a much more gradual process have been published concerning the Islamification of Bosnia. Generally, however, there is agreement about the role of the Bogomil movement in this process. The most reliable material is provided by the steadily progressing work of publishing the 15th and 16th Century Ottoman census archives.
28. For example Sarajevo the capital, Banja Luka and Mostar.
29. For example Ghazi Husref Bey, the great builder of Sarajevo, Ferhat Pasa Desisalić of Banja Luka, Sinan Bey Boljanić of Čajnice, Hasan Pasa Boljanić of Plevlje and the various members of the Sokolović family. [27]
30. The building activity of the Dalmatians in Bosnia is locally known to everyone. In the archives of Dubrovnik many references to such activity have been preserved. For the main Ottoman buildings in Bosnia and Hercegovina see:—
 BEJTIC, Alije, Spomenici Osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosne i Hercegovini. *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju* 3-4, Sarajevo 1953, pp. 229-297.
 BEJTIC, Alije, Provišest i umjetnost Foče na Drini. *Naše Starine* 3, Sarajevo 1956, pp. 23-74.
 BEJTIC, Alije, Banja Luka pod Turskom vladavinom. *Naše Starine* 1, Sarajevo 1953, pp. 91-123.
 ANDREJEVIĆ, Andrej, Aladža Djamija u Foči, *Filozofski Fak. u Beogradu, Institut za Istoriju Umetnosti, Monografije* 2. Belgrade 1972.
31. For valuable pioneer work in the establishment of family relationships see:—
 GERÖ, Gyözi, The question of school and master in the study of the history of Muslim Architecture in Hungary. *The Muslim East, Studies in honour of Julium Germanus*. Budapest 1974, pp. 189-199. [28]



THE MOSQUE OF KEL HASAN AĀA¹ IN THE VILLAGE OF ROGOVA

AN UNKNOWN OTTOMAN MONUMENT OF THE 16th CENTURY
IN THE KOSOVO DISTRICT

The architectural heritage of the Ottoman Empire in the Kosovo-Metohija area does not belong to the best known part of the wealth of historical buildings in these lands. Although much work of inventarization has been done in the past 30 years most of the works are still unpublished and many still escape the attention they deserve.² Hence it is still possible to make some surprising discoveries. One of such surprises is the mosque of the village of Rogova.

The village of Rogova is situated on the western bank of the White Drim, 13 km south-east of Đakovica and 20 km to the north-west of Prizren, a little south of the Sivan Bridge and not far from the railway station of Zrze. The minaret and the lead-covered dome of the mosque rise high above the humble houses and the trees of the village and are conspicuous from beyond the

¹ As in the speech of the Turkish speaking inhabitants of Kosovo as well as among the Serbo-Croat speakers and Albanians the »Yumuşak g« (ğ) is invariably pronounced as a sharp g it would have been appropriate to write Ağa instead of AĀa. For this article we preferred to use the recognised modern Turkish spelling.

² Among the existing literature concerning the Ottoman buildings of Kosovo we mention:

Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Yugoslavya'da Türk Âbideleri ve Vakıfları*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* III, Ankara 1957, pp. 1—73 (128 illustrations).

Hüsref Redžić, *Pet osmanlijskih potkupolnih spomenika na Kosovu i Metohiji*, in: *Starine Kosova i Metohije*, I, Priština 1961, pp. 97—112.

Ivan Zdravković, *Izbor građa za proučavanje spomenika islamske arhitekture u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1964.

Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fâtih Devri*, IV, Istanbul, 1974, pp. 834—839 (Priština). The same, *Fâtih Devri III*, Istanbul, 1973, pp. 304—306 (Peć — Ipek).

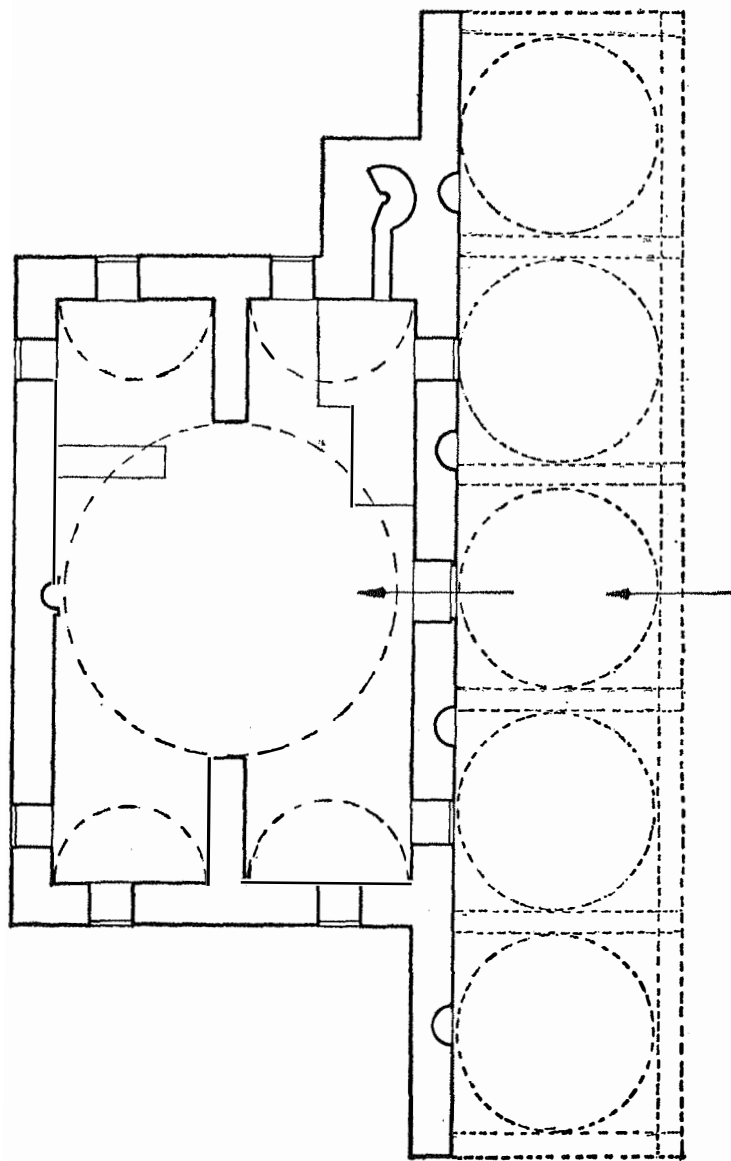
Madžida Bećirbegović, *Prosvjetni objekti Islamske arhitekture na Kosovu*, in: *Starine Kosova*, VI—VII, Priština, 1973, pp. 81—96.

river, from the modern Prizren — Đakovica road. The present village numbers roughly 300 houses and has, besides the mosque, an eight-year primary school (*osnovna škola*) and a mill. The village is exclusively inhabited by Albanian (Gheg) Muslims.

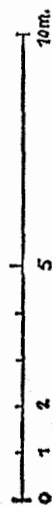
The mosque stands in the middle of the village in a vast walled garden (*photo 1*). The building is composed of two different parts; different in date and manner of construction. The actual prayer hall is a squab and relatively low stone-built rectangle covered by a dome. This hall, doubtless the oldest part of the mosque, is preceded by a wide and spacious annex built of mud brick in a skeleton of wood. The structure is covered by a roof of machine



The Mosque of Kel Hasan Ağa at Rogova



Rogova, Mosque of Kel Hasan Ağa, M.
 — = original structure, still standing
 - - - - = hypothetical reconstruction of porch, now greatly altered.



made tiles of a kind used before World War II. All features of this hall betray a date of construction somewhere in the late 19th century.

The domed prayer hall is a much better construction, built of broken stone, boulders and roughly squared blocks. The uneven surface is smoothened by a coat of plaster and was doubtlessly so from the beginning. It is a method of working which belongs to the Post-Classical period of Ottoman architecture, as well as to the methods current in more provincial districts.

The interior of the mosque was lit by twelve windows. Each lateral wall had four windows, the mihrab wall and the façade only two each. The windows are placed in the usual Ottoman manner, in two superimposed rows. The lower windows, the larger ones, are surrounded by rectangular stone frames. Above each rectangle is a pointed arched panel placed in a rectangular field, an ornament which is cut in the plaster of the walls. The panels suggest the relieving arches of earlier Ottoman structures. However, here they are only an ornament as no real arches could be detected in the masonry. The upper windows are much smaller than the lower. They are finished by a four-centered pointed arch with a form characteristic of the 17th century. A number of windows are now walled up.

As seen from the rear the prayer hall appears as a rectangle with a dome which covers only the central section. This dome rises out of an octagonal drum whose front and rear sides are merely an upward continuation of the walls. The drum is rather low and blind which gives the mosque its squab appearance and betrays its relatively late, Late-Classical, date and provincial environment. The lateral wings of the rectangle are covered on the outside by a shed roof. During one of the numerous repairs which the mosque underwent these shed roofs were heightened to the level of the cornice which finishes the drum. The wings are covered with the same kind of machine made tiles as the mud brick annex. The form the new roof acquired after the mentioned repair spoils the original appearance of the building.

The rectangular prayer hall (14.40—9.20 m.) must have been preceded by a wide and monumental looking outer porch (son cemaat yeri) of five domed units. The present mud brick structure, namely, follows exactly the size of the original portico. This was 24.10 m. wide and 5.80 m. deep. The front wall of the prayer hall is extended by two wings of the same kind of masonry. These wings must originally have served as the rear wall of the porch. Later it became the rear wall of the annex building. A space of the size mentioned above can only be covered by a succession of five domes of equal size. Four mihrab niches, carved out in the masonry of the wings, still indicate its former function as »son cemaat yeri«.

Such a wide porch is a solution frequently met with in Ottoman architecture. It was preferably used to impart an air of monumentality to a relatively small structure. This five domed portico must have collapsed at a rather early date. Above the mihrab of the prayer hall is an inscription which states that the mosque was »repaired for the third time« in 1835. Thus the first and the second repair must have been carried out in the course of the late 17th century and the 18th century, the first perhaps after the destructive invasion of the Austrian army under Piccolomini in 1689.³ All traces of the domed porch are now completely hidden behind various coats of plaster and can only be brought to light by a thorough restoration of the building, a work which is badly needed.

The mosque has a particularly high minaret which gives to the structure a pleasant vertical note. The minaret rises on the right side of the prayer hall, behind the screen wall of the former »son cemaat yeri«. It stands on a solid polygonal base and is accessible only from the inside of the prayer hall. The shaft is sixteen sided. It is finished by a cornice above which rises the chalice-like balcony. The shaft is built of fine thin bricks and has a thin coat of plaster. The conical cap still has its old lead covering with a half moon filial. The form of the balcony is characteristic for numerous late 16th and 17th century buildings and has numerous parallels.

One enters the building through a door in the middle of the mud brick annex. This door gives access to a small entrance hall. This hall is flanked on both sides by spacious rooms, each one roughly measuring 4.30 m.—9.30 m. According to what we were told locally these halls once served as the primary school of the village the »mekteb« or »iptidaî mekteb«. This solution is often met with in 19th century Ottoman architecture.

A door in the rear wall of the entrance hall leads to the prayer room proper. Above this door is an Ottoman inscription relating the date of construction and the name of the founder. The prayer hall is, as can be seen on the outside, a multi-unit structure. A dome of 7.50 m. diameter covers the central section. It rests partly on the front and rear wall, partly on arches which are supported by two heavy, engaged pillars. The transition between square and circle is effected by small spherical fields. This central section is flanked on both sides by two lateral units which are covered by plain barrel vaults.

This original plan, unique in Yugoslavia, relates the Rogova mosque to a group⁴ of structures of the Early and Classical phase

³ For details concerning the Austrian occupation of Prizren and surroundings in 1689 see: Hasan Kaleši and Ismail Eren, Prizrenac Mahmud-Paša Rotul, njegove zadužbine i vakufi, in: *Starine Kosova*, VI—

VII, pp. 23—64 with further references.

⁴ For this group of mosques the fundamental works still remain: Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Frühosmanische Baugeschichte*, II,

of Ottoman architecture. This group of buildings starts with the grandiose *Üç Şerefeli Câmî'i*,⁵ built by Sultan Murad II between 1437 and 1447 in his capital Edirne. Its plan was followed and further developed in the *Çeşnegir Câmî'i* in Manisa, of 1474,⁶ the *Hatuniye Câmî'i* of 1491⁷ in the same city of Manisa, the Mosque of *Güzlerce Hasan Pasha* at *Hayrabolu* (Turkish Thrace) of 1499,⁸ the Mosque of *Plak Mustafa Pasha* of 1519 in the Macedonian city of *Serres*,⁹ the *Sultan Câmî'i* of 1522,¹⁰ also in Manisa and the *Sinan Pasha Mosque* in *Beşiktaş* — *Istanbul*, of 1555,¹¹ to cite but some of the better known examples. No mosques of this type built in the 17th century have yet been found. The *Rogova* mosque is apparently the latest of this attractive group and the only one yet come to light dating from the last quarter of the 16th century. At *Rogova* the scheme was doubtlessly chosen to create a building with rich vaults, features betraying the provincial origin of its architect. It was, however, a bold attempt to make something more elaborate than the usual domed square, the rather uninspired type of smaller mosque which dominates the greater part of the provincial work in the Balkans. The mediocre workmanship of the building and the lack of finesse in the proportions might be ascribed to the local, provincial environment and to the participation of local master builders, not too well versed in Ottoman aesthetics.

Moscheen vom Bauschema der *Üç Şerefeli Cami* in Edirne, in: *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan*, *Istanbul* 1950—55, pp. 315—325; and: R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte II, Die Üç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne und die Ulu Cami in Manisa*, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 8, 1958, pp. 40—56.

⁵ For the most comprehensive description, plans, sections and numerous photos see: E. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, II*, *Istanbul*, 1972, pp. 422—462.

⁶ For this mosque see: Anhegger, *Moscheen vom Bauschema etc.*, p. 317; and Ayverdi *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi, IV*, p. 817—819.

⁷ Details by Anhegger, *Bauschema*, p. 318. Also: Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, *London*, 1971, pp. 158—159 (where accidentally the pictures of the *Sultan Câmî'i* from 1522 and that of the *Hatuniye Cami'i* are transposed).

⁸ For this mosque see: Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Otto-*

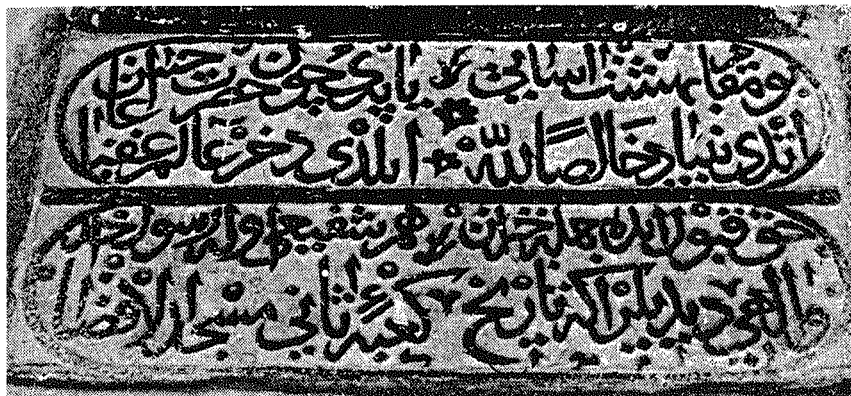
man Architecture, *Chicago — London* 1968, pp. 182—183 (through a mistake in his sources Kuran wrote that this mosque was built in 809—1406, whereas the inscription most clearly states that it was 905, on *Rebi ül-evvel* (October—November 1499)).

⁹ For the *Serres Mosque* see: Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre*, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17, 1967, pp. 312—324; and Machiel Kiel, *Observations on the History of Northern Greece during Turkish Rule, Komotini and Serres*, in: *Balkan Studies* 12², *Thessaloniki* 1971, pp. 415—465.

¹⁰ For this mosque see: Anhegger, *Bauschema*, p. 319.

¹¹ For this well known mosque see i. a.: Ulya Vogt-Göknül, *Türkische Moscheen*, *Zürich*, 1953, pp. 62—68. Also, E. Egli, *Sinan, der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, *Zürich*, 1054.

Our conclusion as to the approximate date of construction of this mosque is happily corroborated by the preserved inscription. This text is cut in a slab of white marble of 90—50 cm. The text consists of four, somewhat clumsily written, beyits fitted in two cartouches. It reads¹² as follows (photo 2):



یاپدی جون حضرت حسن اغا	بو مقام بهشت اسایی
ایلدی دخر عالم عبا	اتدی بنیاد خالصاً لله
هم شفيعی اوله رسول خدا	حق قبول ایده جمله حیراتن
کعبه نانی مسجد الاقصا	واللهی دیدیلر اکه تاریخ

- 1) Bu maqām-ı behişt asāyı — yapıdı çun hażret-i Ḥasan Ağa
- 2) Etdi bünyād ḥālişan Lillāhi — eyledi zuhr-ı 'ālem-i 'uqḃā
- 3) Haqq kabūl ede cümle ḥayrātın — hem şefi'i ola Resūl-ı Ḥudā
- 4) O Vālihī dediler aña tāriḥ — Ka'be-i Şānī, Mescidü 'l-Akşā

The Vālihī mentioned in the text is very probably the poet of Skopje who, at the time when 'Aşık Çelebi wrote his »Tezkireti 'ş-Şu'arā« (1568/69) was supervisor of the medrese of Bayezid II at Edirne. He was the son of a Cadi and born in Skopje ('Aşık, Tezkeret, edit. Meredith—Owens, p. 78a). This Vālihī Ahmed Celebi died, according to Bursali Meḥmed Tāhir ('Osḡmānlı Mtiellifleri, Şāir ve Edibler Faşlı), in his native Skopje in 994 (1586) thus six years after completing the Rogova inscription.

¹² The authors of this article acknowledge the valuable help and suggestions by Mr. R. Peters, Amsterdam; Dr. F. Th. Dijkema, Lei-

den, and Prof. Dr. V. L. Ménage, London. The dot on the 'dhal' is missing (a writer's mistake?) but another reading is hardly possible.

- 1a b) When his Excellency Ḥasan Ağa constructed this Paradise resembling place
- 2a) he built it with sincere intention.
- 2b) He made a provision of reward for the World of the Hereafter.
- 3a) May the True One (God) accept all his good works
- 3b) and may the Messenger of God (Mohammed) be his intercessor.
- 4a) O Vālihī, They have spoken for it a chronogram:
- 4b) The Second Kaaba (the K. of the poor, of those who could not go to Mecca), the Mescidü 'l-Akṣā.¹³

The date is only given as a chronogram which gives the following calculation.

$\begin{array}{r} \text{ك} = 20 \\ \text{ح} = 70 \\ \text{ب} = 2 \\ \text{ق} = 5 \\ \hline 97 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} \text{ذ} = 500 \\ \text{ا} = 1 \\ \text{ز} = 50 \\ \text{ى} = 10 \\ \hline 561 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} \text{م} = 40 \\ \text{ن} = 60 \\ \text{ج} = 3 \\ \text{د} = 4 \\ \hline 107 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} \text{ا} = 1 \\ \text{ل} = 30 \\ \hline 31 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} \text{ا} = 1 \\ \text{ف} = 100 \\ \text{ص} = 90 \\ \text{ا} = 1 \\ \hline 192 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 97 \\ 561 \\ 107 \\ 31 \\ \hline 988 \end{array}$
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H. 988 = 17. 2. 1580 — 4. 2. 1581.

Above the mihrab in the prayer hall is a second inscription, relating to a repair of the mosque. It is written in ink under a religious formulae. The whole is surrounded by a cartouch which measures 1.25—0.48 m. It reads as follows:

Kullamā dahala 'alayhā Zakariyyā al-mihrāb¹⁴ (Koran 3, 37)
 »When ever Zachariah entered the sanctuary to see her he found beside her provisions.«

»The third repair of the noble mosque was done by Meḥmed 'Alī, the son of Bekir. This painting (by) Gani Memiş of Prizren, (in the month of) Cem. I, Anno 1251.«

جامع شريفك او جنجو دفعه تعمیری محمد علی بن بکر طرفندن یاپلیشدیر

بو بیاجی پر زرنلی عکی ممیش سنه ۱۲۵۱ جماد الاول

¹³ »The remotest of mosques«, in the narrow sense the Akṣa Mosque on the Temple Square in Jerusalem, south of the Dome of the Rock.

¹⁴ The way in which these words are written contains several mista-

kes. Here we give the correct, Koranic, form which was intended by the writer, of the text, who did not know his Arabic very well.

Cāmi'-i şerifiñ üçünce def'a ta'miri Meḥmed 'Alī bin Bekir tarafından yapılmışdır.

Bu boyacı Perzerinli Ğanī Memiş.

Sene 1251, Cemāzu 'l-evvel (September 1835).

It proved to be difficult to identify the forementioned »His Excellency Ḥasan Ağa«. The way in which the founder styles himself (ḥazret) seems to indicate that he was a high dignitary, not a big landowner. Locally he is remembered as »Ėelhasan Ağa« which is the Albanian corruption of the correct »Kel Ḥasan Ağa«. During our investigations at Rogova the imam of the mosque, Hafiz Şaban Efendi, told us two charming legends concerning the foundation. According to one of these stories Ḥasan Ağa was born in the village of Damyan (which lies six km. south-west of Rogova). As a youth he tended cattle and one day his beasts broke through the fence of a private garden and ruined it. The owner of the garden caught Hasan and beat him. The very frightened boy ran away and eventually came to Istanbul! There he found a protector, was educated and rose to the rank of an important commander. When, after a long time, he came home he found the old garden owner, obtained forgiveness and bought the garden, the ultimate instrumentum of his career. There he erected the mosque that we see today. The second story relates that Hasan, not yet back in his native country, sent a large sum of money to the Halvetiyye sheikh Ali in Damyan Köy. Sheikh Ali constructed in Hasan's name a mekteb in Damyan Köy, a bridge in Deday Köy and a mosque in Rogova with opposite it a mekteb. The legends, although certainly embellished, must nevertheless contain elements of truth. The historical Kel Ḥasan Ağa must have made his career in the imperial capital and must have risen to a place of honour. Hence the word »His Excellence« in the inscription and the use of a plan for his mosque which surpasses the limits of provincial architecture and is doubtlessly inspired by the works of the great centres of Ottoman art. We may think of a Janissary Ağa or a lesser army officer. Less probable a Kızlarağa. More historical information and if possible, a Vakıfnāme is needed to clear up this question which we prefer to leave as a detail for further study. The wording of the inscription (cümle ḥayrātın) seems at least to confirm the indication of the second legend that Ḥasan Ağa founded a number of works for the general welfare. The first one contains elements for an explanation of the psychological motives behind the choice of the building site. The pattern of a young man who went to Istanbul, made his fortune there and then donated works for public welfare and the promotion of Islamic culture in his native district is very common and needs no commend. However, what we need is more documentary evidence.

In the yard of the mosque are a number of old gravestones. Only four of them bear inscriptions. The oldest one is doubtless

that which is crowned by a large turban in the style of the 17th century and is reminiscent of the stones of the same century as found in Peć.¹⁵ In the 18th century this kind of headgear fell into disuse. Unfortunately we could not read the text of the heavily weathered inscription of this stone. The three others are crowned with a fez and date from the late 19th century. The texts written on these stones offer nothing more than the stereotyped formulae »Hüwe al-Baķī (He is the Everlasting) al-Merḥūm ve al-Mağfūr ... rūḥiçün el-Fātiḥa sene ... ([Read] a Fātiḥa for the soul of the one God has taken into his mercy, the forgiven ... Anno ...).« The stones belong to Ḥalil bin Davud, 1278 (1861/62), Meḥmed ben Ḥasan, 1309 (1891/92) and Süleymān ben Ḥasan, also 1309 and probably a brother of the former. In original lettering they read as follows:

هو	هو الباقي	هو الباقي
الباقي	المرحوم والمغفور	المرحوم والمغفور
المرحوم	محمد بن حسن	سليمان بن حسن
خليل بن	روحچون	روحچون
داوود	الفاتحه	الفاتحه
روحچون	سنه ١٣٠٩	سنه ١٣٠٩
الفاتحه		
سنه ١٢٧٨		

The mosque of Rogova, although still in daily use, is in a neglected state. It might be hoped that a thorough restoration by the competent authorities, a restoration which would have to include the reconstruction of the portico and a removal of the miserable 19th century additions, will bring back the original monumental form of this interesting building which vividly testifies to the fact that Islam had spread its wings over the villages of Kosovo in a peaceful and constructive manner long before the Veliki Seobe.

POST SCRIPT

After having written these lines we found that Evlija Çelebi, in vol VI, of his Seyāhatnāme, in the description of Ūsküb/Skopje, (Serbocroat translation by Hazim Šabanović, Evlija Çelebija Puto-

¹⁵ A number of historical grave-stones of Peć have been published by: Asimov Mudžait, Turski nad-

grobní spomenici na Kosovu, in: Starine Kosovo, VI—VII, Priština, 1973, pp. 97—112.

pis, vol II, Sarajevo, 1957; German translation Herbert Duda in: Sitzungsberichte der Österr. Akad der Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 226, Wien, 1949) described the türbe of »Mevla Vālihī Çelebi« which at the time of his visit was still standing. He also noted a chronogram of the poet Farūķī which gives the date of the death of Vālihī, 1009 (13. 7. 1600 — 1. 7. 1601). This is one year later that Bursalı Mehmed Tahir (Osmanlı Müellifleri) wrote but it needs not to be doubted that the person mentioned by Evliya is the same as the one of Mehmed Tahir.

NIMETULLAH HAFIZ , MACHIEL KIEL



XII

THE VAKIFNÂME OF RAĞKAS SINÂN BEG IN KARNOBAT (Kârîn-âbâd) AND THE OTTOMAN COLONIZATION OF BULGARIAN THRACE

(14th - 15th century)

With perhaps the exception of one epoch the humble town of Karnobat in the plains of Bulgarian Thrace did not share in the eventful history of this part of Europe. It was not situated along the main traffic artery (Belgrade Road or Crimean Road), it was never a large centre of craftsman (as Sliven) or a centre of the provincial administration (as Kazanlık or Stara Zagora), and no famous men were born or worked there (as for example the great Ottoman intellectual centre of Filibe - Plovdiv - which gave birth to a host of poets and scholars).¹ Karnobat was none of these. It emerged in the course of the 15th century as an Ottoman Turkish town, which kept till today its old Arabo-Persian name². Since the 15th c. its history was one of a slow and uneventful growth, turning to a rapid expansion only in the last fifty years³. It was probably not explicitly founded (as were the numerous towns along the Stambul-Belgrade highway) but grew spontaneously out of the need for an urban centre (market function) in a large agricultural district. In our opinion it is this epoch of

1 One could consult the *tezkeres* of Latifi (German translation by O. Rescher), or Kinalizâde Hasan (edition Ibrahim Kutluk, Ankara, 1978), Taşköprüzâde's *Şakayık* (a German translation, made by Rescher, appeared by Zeller Verlag, Osnabrück, in 1979), Bursalı Mehmed Tahir's *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, recently re-edited by Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen, Istanbul 1972, E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (6 vols, London 1900 - 1909, and 1958 - 1963), or Joseph von Hammer - Purgstall's equally voluminous *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Pesth, 1837 etc. to find without much trouble hosts of literary men, born or active in Filibe - Plovdiv.

2 In 1953 this name was changed into the more Bulgarian sounding «Poljanovgrad» but, happily enough, the old toponym was restored again in 1962 (compare: Petar Koledarov and Nikolai Mičev, *Promenite v imenata i selištata v Balgarija*, Sofia, 1973, 130).

3 In 1972 the number of inhabitants passed the 20.000 mark (see Koledarov, *Promenite p.* 130).

resettling the land and reconstructing urban life which is the period in which the history of Karnobat is of real interest. Hence we will here focus on it.

The town of Karnobat is situated in the north-eastern corner of what is today Bulgarian Thrace, on the edge of a monotonous plain, immediately below a low ridge of hills. The summit of the hill still bears the name «Hisar», telling us that there once was a castle. Although the Bulgarian archeologists unfolded in the past 30 years an impressive range of activities, including the excavation of entire mediaeval settlements⁴, the castle of Karnobat was passed by them, literally. Some general observations and surface finds indicate that the castle dates back to the Byzantino-Bulgarian period, the 12th century. The district in which the forerunner of the present day Karnobat was situated was throughout the entire middle ages, since the foundation of the Bulgarian state in 681 A. D. right until the eve of the Ottoman conquest in 1360-70 a heavily contested frontier zone where destruction quickly succeeded the brief intervals of peaceful prosperity. Karnobat is just twenty km within the historical frontier of the First Bulgarian Empire (681 - 1018) the vallum which runs from the Bay of Burgas over Rusokastro, crosses the Tunca between Jambol and Elhovo and ends at the foot of the mountains south of Plovdiv⁵. In the particularly agitated 13th and 14th century the line could not be held and the scattered hill top castles became Bulgarian, then Byzantine^{5a}. The land along this ever bleeding frontier was turned into a semi-desert. The entire lowland area between Adrianople /Edirne/ and the Balkan Chain was a no-mans-land, very thinly populated and kept only by the mentioned chain of castles⁶. The forerunner of Karnobat must have been one of them. A good six km to the west of the town is another one. This was the old castle of Markeli, which commands the défilé of the Azmak River (now called: Močurica), a tributary of the Tunca which it meets

4 For example the really magnificent excavations of mediaeval Shoumen, no almost completed, or those of Lovets or Tserven, which results have largely been published in the periodicals *Arheologija*, *Izvestija na Balgarskata Arheolgičeski Institut*, and *Izvestija na Narodni Muzej Kolarovgrad / Shoumen*.

5 This rempart is known locally and in the literature as the *Jerkessia*, a corruption for the Turkish Words «a cut through the earth». Large stretches of this vallum are still very well recognisable in the terrain.

5a As these remarks are merely meant to be a short introduction I am not going to cite the vast mass of literature concerning mediaeval Bulgaro-Byzantin history. For general accounts see: Konstantin Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prag, 1876, Vasil Zlatarski, *Istorija na Balgarija*, Sofia (various editions); Donald M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium*, London, 1972, Vasil Gjuselev, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Thrakiens im Mittelalter*, in: *Byzantino-Bulgarica*, No III, 1969 p. 155 vv; or: Ivan Dujčev *Die Krise der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft und die türkische Eroberung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas*, 21, 4, München, 1973, pp. 481 - 492; etc.

6 See note 14.

in Jambol. Because Markeli is situated in an almost uninhabited area a large part of its walls have been preserved while that of Karnobat disappeared gradually in the course of the last 400 years (Evliya Çelebi still saw it as a ruin in 1659)⁷ Karnobat must have shared the events of the 13th/14th century but we know of no details, as many aspects of the numerous minor border conflicts remained unrelated. I would like to stress the character of the area between the Balkan Mountains and Edirne in the later middle ages as a semi-deserted border land because this point is usually glossed over in the Bulgarian historiography⁸. The latter preferably puts the accent on the destructive nature of the Ottoman conquest and the sufferings of their own people afterwards, who indeed carried the lions share of the weight of the new Imperial superstructure. As to the ruinous years prior to the Ottoman take over this point is preferably kept in the dark.

7 Seyâhatnâme, vol V, p. 330. Jireček remarked about Markeli that the castle was built in such a way that it protected the south against attacks from the north, which allows us to suppose that it was built by the Byzantines to protect their northern frontier (Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prag, Wien, Leipzig, 1891, p. 516). There is a model of the castle in the small Karnobat Museum.

8 See for example: Petar Nikov, *Turskoto zavoevanie na Bălgarija i sădbata na poslednite Sišmanovci*, in: *Bălgarskata Istoričeska Biblioteka*, I, Sofia 1928 p. 113 - 159; Dimitar Angelov, *Turskoto našetvie i borbata na balkanskite narod protiv našestvenitsite*, in: *Istoričeski Pregled*, IX, 1953, 4, p. 74/98; D. Angelov, *Certains aspects de la conquête des peuples balkaniques par les Turks*, in: *Byzantino-Slavica*, XVII, 1956, p. 220 - 275; Ivan Snegarov, *Turskoto vladieštvo prečka za kulturnoto razvitie na bălgarskija narod i drugite balkanski narodi*, Sofia, 1958 (*The Turkish rule, obstacle for the Cultural Development of the Bulgarian Nation and other Balkan Nations*); Bistra Cvetkova, *Heroičnata săprotiva na Bălgarita protiv turskoto našestvie*, Sofia, 1960; Petar Petrov, *Sădbonosni Vekove za Bălgarskata Narodnost, kraja na XIV vek - 1912.*, Sofia, 1975 (*Fateful centuries for the Bulgarian Nationality, end 14th century to 1912*); and many others. In last mentioned work (and many others aswell) we find the statement that the Turkish colonists drove away the Bulgarian population from the best soil and took it themselves. For the Bulgarians only the poor soil and the mountains remained. (p. 62/64) This is all supposed to have taken place but no any kind of reference is given, except the rhetorical remark of a monk of the Holy Mountain of Athos for the situation in Macedonia. The position of northern Thrace as Byzantino-Bulgarian frontier district is not even mentioned, nor are the Catalans, the Crusaders or the extermination campaigns of Czar Kaloyan «The Slayer of Greeks» as he proudly styled himself, the man who laid the corner stone for the depopulation of Thrace. See also note 14.

The above-mentioned tendency is as old as Bulgaria itself and much is understandable as a reaction to the painful process of national rebirth, observable in various degrees in all new nations. It should be noted that this tendency ran its course and, as time progressed, began to show signs of fading away slowly. After World War II, however, this development towards a wider point of view was completely reversed and old way of writing the history of the Turkish period returned in full vigor. It is meaningful that in the adjacent Jugoslav ter-

Not much is known on the Ottoman conquest of Karnobat, or better its forerunner. Katib Çelebi⁹ placed it in 1368, Sadeddin¹⁰ tells us that it surrendered voluntarily in mentioned year, following the example of the important frontier castle of Ajdos (Aetos), which had surrendered without any trouble or disturbance. It should be added: what else could the isolated border garrisons have done, confronted as they were with a well organised enemy and without hope for relief from a disordered home front? Any how it is clear that the conquest of the castle was not a violent one, the walls were not razed after the capture but were still standing, as previously noted, in the 17th century. In this line of arguments the name of the town: *Ḳarîn-âbâd*, or: *Ḳarîn-ovası*, becomes fascinating. Does it not mean: «Castle of the Associate» (Companion, or Ally) or: Meadow of the Companion» in Arabo-Persian and Arabo-Turkish?¹¹ When we hear again of Karnobat, during the time of Yıldırım Bayezid and during the war for the throne between his sons Musa and Mehmed it was a base of the *Akıncıs*¹². It is sufficiently known that this force was of Christian origin. Some historians even believe that it was entirely composed of Christian converts to Islam¹³. Is it too bold to suppose that the garrison of the «Castle of the Ally», fearing to sink back to the level of landless peasant, took the service of the new lords of Thrace? Did not the people of the adjacent Rhodope district preserve right into the 19th century the memories of the voluntary surrender of the

territories, as well as among emigré Bulgarians, an entirely different process has set in, a process of taking distance from the subject, refrain from passing moral verdicts over long disappeared people or institutions, and an endeavour to see things from various sides and not only from within the narrow limit of national interest. The existence of things like Turkish culture, or literature even entered secondary Yugoslav schoolbooks. The reader himself may judge up to which degree the mentioned differences in the Bulgarian and Yugoslav historiography originate in the difference of concept of society in the mentioned countries.

9 Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Wien 1812, p. 35.

10 Tacû't-*Tevârih*, edit. Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul, 1974, vol I, p. 135.

11 *Evlîyâ Çelebi*, *Seyahatnâme*, V. p. 335, gives a very different version of the name, another example of his «Volksetymologie»? The alternation of the 'learned' Persian *-âbâd* with the vernacular Turkish- *ovası* is not too strange. We might cite *Eceâbâd* near Gelibolu, which also appears in old texts (*Neşri*, *Kâtib Çelebi*) as: *Eceovası*.

12 See for example: *Inalcik*, art. «Bulgaria» in *Encycl. of Islam*, New Edit.; *Aşıkpaşazâde*, transl. Kreutel (*Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz, Wien, Köln 1959, p. 124); *Sadeddin* (*Parmaksızoğlu*), II, p. 81, etc.

13 Very pronounced so by Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht*, Wien, Köln, Granz, 1972, p. 104 - 107. The *Akıncıs* were, according to Werner, Greek renegates, reinforced by runaway Christian farmers and craftsman, even recruited from territories outside the Ottoman realm. Under Mehmed II, thus a hundred years after the events described here, they must have been converted to Islam, at least so according to Werner (p. 105). If one agrees with Werner or not the origin of the *Akıncıs* is rather uncertain.

isolated castles on condition of being admitted to the new military class? I think we have to say yes, unless fresh evidence is brought to light, proving the opposite.

It was the great Czech historian of the Balkans and first Minister of Education of the reborn Bulgaria after 1878 who, now almost a century ago pointed to the desolate state of Thrace prior to the Ottoman conquest and stressed the subsequent reconstruction and recolonization by the Turks¹⁴. Indeed, the seemingly endless wars ceased after the Ottomans had acquired the land. The incursion of Mirchea the Old of Valachia in the nineties of the 14th century and the war between Musa and Mehmed shortly afterwards were but incidents without lasting results. The process of reconstruction went on. The land remained undisturbed during the so-called Crusade of Varna from 1444, which brought such havoc and destruction in Danubian Bulgaria¹⁵. Thus from shortly after 1400 until the unhappy years around 1800, when the anarchy of the Krdžali period reigned with full terror, the Thracian plains prospered in relative peace, a peace of a length unknown since the Roman Antiquity.

Jireček has thus shown us the direction in which to seek. He had at his disposal

14 Jireček, *Fürstenthum*, p. 48/49. It can be added that the «Chronicle of Muntaner» (translated from the Catalan by Lady Goodenough, London, 1921) written by an eye witness of the events, gives an excellent but seldomly used review of the situation in Thrace shortly after the year 1300 and describes in detail all actions that led to the ruin of Thrace by the hardy mercenaries of the Catalan Grand Compagny. On p. 552 of this Chronicle Muntaner summarises this actions as follows: «Now it is the truth that we had been in the peninsula of Gallipoli and in the district seven years since the death of the Caesar, and we had lived there five years on the land and there was nothing left. And so, likewise, we had depopulated the all that district for ten journeys in every direction; we had destroyed all the people, so that nothing could be gathered there. Therefore we were obliged to abandon that country. And this was the decision of En Rocafort and those who were with him...» The Grand Compagny consisted at the outset of the campaign 5.000 foot soldiers and 2.500 men cavalry. Later it was reinforced by runaway Byzantine mercenaries, Muslim Turks and Christian Turks.

15 Perhaps the best account of the Crusade of Varna, mentioning quite honestly all cities and castle razed or burnt is Michael Behaim, *Zehn Gedichte zur Geschichte Österreichs und Ungarns*, edit. Th. G. von Karajan, Wien, 1848. The recently translated «Memoiren eines Janitscharen, oder Türkische Chronik (Renate Lachman, in the Series: Slavische Geschichtschreiber, No 8, Styria, Köln, Wien, Graz, 1975,) mentions Vidin (p. 99) and has other details. Another source close to the events, also mentioning details which we find by Behaim, is the «Gazavat-ı sultân Murâd b. Mehemed Hân, edit. Halil Inalcık and Mevlud Oğuz, Ankara, 1978. Among the cities destroyed were Vidin, Lom, Shoumen, Novi Pazar, Rousse and Kaliakra. Shoumen and Kaliakra belonged to the most important of mediaeval Bulgaria. The last mentioned was the capital of the principality of Dobrudja. Vidin had been capital of the Czardom of Sratsimir. Both did not recover but were completely deserted. Shoumen was rebuilt at a much later date and on an entirely new site, far below the old hill top town.

some vita of saints who lived in the area, some scattered notes in the Byzantine chroniclers and, closer to the actual happenings, a number of glosses in manuscripts and for the early Ottoman period only the toponymy. How incomparably better could we now reconstruct the entire process of rebuilding the destroyed land with the aid of the Mufaşşal Defters in the Turkish archives. However regrettable it is, this is still a task for the future, as the vast majority of these documents are unpublished and hardly accessible for whatever reason it may be¹⁶.

The land of Karnobat received a major share in the recolonization of the early Ottoman period. The old toponymy of the land bears witness to this creative period¹⁷. Large groups of Anatolian Yürüks settled in the land, as well as a particularly numerous group of Tatars from southern Russia, fleeing from the Timurid onslaught¹⁸. Gökbilgin¹⁹ gave a list of no less than 133 villages in the Karnobat district, founded by Yürüks of the Kocacık group. Among them are a number of which the old names point to their nomad origin: Yürük-hacı, Yürük Kasım, Yürüklü, Yeni Yürük, Yürük-ovası, and numerous others. There are also names which denote the place the settlers originally came from, as: Ahlatlı, Germiyanlı, Maraşlı Saruhanlı, etc. all places in various parts of Anatolia. Other names recall the founder of the village, the ancient clan leader or chief of the family, as: Turhanlı, Bayezidli, Balabanlı, İskenderli, or they describe some natural features characteristic for the village, as: Değirmen-deresi (Mill Brook), Elma-dere (Vale of the Apples), Tepe Köy (Hill Village) etc. These toponyms, now obliterated and changed for newly made Bulgarian names, give a general idea of the nature and origin of the new population. A nomad element remained long, roaming in the Karnobat area. In 1641 a group of more than a hundred families (ocak) of Kocacık yürüks and smaller groups of Vize and Tanrıdağ yürüks in the Karnobat district were still registered as nomads²⁰.

The town of Karnobat thus emerged in a overwhelmingly agricultural and cattle-breeding area. It emerged below the previously existing castle. The latter was maintained by the Ottomans as a military post in the decades when their rule was still

16 A beautiful opening into this field has been made by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *İstila devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II, 1942, pp. 279 - 387, with entire source material given in transcription; Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, İstanbul, 1957; or articles like A. Münir Aktepe, XIV. ve XV. Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler tarafından İskânına dair, in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 20, pp. 299 - 312.

17 The most handy guide to the old topography is now Koledarov's work (see note 2).

18 For the colonization of the Tatars of Ak Tav see in detail: Aurel Decei, *L'Etablissement d'Aktav de la Horde d'Or dans l'empire ottoman aux temps de Yıldırım Bayezid*, in: Zeki Velidi Togan *Armagan*, İstanbul, 1950/55, p. 77 - 92.

19 Gökbilgin, *Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, p. 129 - 133, giving the situation of 950 (1553).

20 idem.

unsettled. Perhaps it served later as the seat, or at least as a place of refuge for the local administration²¹, as Karnobat was the chef-lieu of a nahiye as early as the 15th century. In the Classical Period of the empire the castle of Karnobat was, like almost all others in Thrace, fully abandoned and left to decay by the forces of men and nature as there was no reason to maintain them. This is perhaps the most telling illustration for explaining how much the Bulgaro-Byzantine middle ages differed from the Classical Ottoman period. The process of development of Karnobat, from a cluster of houses below the castle into an Ottoman Turkish kasaba can certainly be followed in detail with help of the mufaşşal taħrîrs of the Sancak of Silistra, in which «*Ķarîn-âbâd*» was situated. I regret that this is impossible for me. It has to remain an interesting task for my Turkish colleagues.

In the second half of the 15th century Karnobat definitely became a town. This is chiefly the work of one man, Raĳkas Sinân Beg, Ottoman governor of Silistra. While spending a month and a half of research in Sofia in 1978²² I found in a Bulgarian religious periodical of the last century the Bulgarian translation of the *Vaĳf-nâme* of the foundations of this man in Karnobat²³. Before I turn to the context of this interesting document it would appear necessary to give first a few comments on this Sinân Beg, about whom rather little is known.

At the first glance this Sinân appears to be identical with Hoca Hızırzâde Sinân, the tutor of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, closer examination however, seems to contradict this. Hoca Hızır Beg bin Celâl from Sivrihişar, allegedly a descendant of Nasreddin Hoca, died in 863 (1456) as first Cadi of İstanbul. His life and works have been described in detail by Suheyl Ünver^{23a}. His son Yusuf, who had the *mahlas* of Sinân was born in 844 (1440) in Sivrihisar, or in Bursa, as far as one can believe the notes of Taşköprüzâde's Şaĳayik²⁴. He was in succession professor at the famous Dartî'l-Hadis Medrese of Murad II in Edirne, tutor of the sultan and rose to the rank of vizier in 875 (1470/71). If we are to believe the evidence found by Uzunçarşılı he even served a term as Grand Vizier of the empire²⁵. This should have been between 881-882 (1476/77) after which date he was dismissed and sent to his native Sivrihisar,

21 See Turski Izvori za Balgarskata Istorija, vol I, Sofia 1964, p. 63, 69, 77, etc.

22 By invitation of the Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries at the Committee of Culture, Sofia, for whose most generous help I am highly indebted.

23 In: «Balgarski Tserkoven Pregled», God. 4, Knj. IV, Sofia, April 1898, pp. 43 - 48.

23a Dr. Süheyl Ünver, Hızır Bey Celebi, Hayâtı ve Eserleri, İstanbul, 1944.

24 Or better, Mecdi's annex (printed edition, p. 196).

25 I. H. Uzunçarşılı, Hızır Bey oĳlu Sinan Paşa'nın Vezir-i Âzamlığına dâir çok kıymetli bir vesika, in Belleten, XXVII, ocak 1963, sayı 105, pp. 37 - 44. These sources are the mentioned account in Mecdi's Zeyl of the Şaĳayik and a newly found letter of that time, which he gives in facsimile.

as Cadi and medrese professor. When Bayezid II came to the throne he restored Sinân to the rank of vizier (1481) and made him sancak begi of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), where he died in 891 (1486). Hoca Hızırzâde Sinân Pasha was thus in Sivrihisar between 1477 and 1481. This is of importance because the other Sinân active in the years of Fatih and Bayezid II, and also a Hoca, Rağkaş Sinân, is mentioned as sancak begi of Silistra in northern Bulgaria in the same year when Hoca Hızırzâde Sinân was sent to Sivrihisar. This is mentioned in a letter from 882, published by Uzunçarşılı. This account is thus as close to the events as can be desired, and in all probability more reliable than the account of Taşköprüzâde's continuator, Mecdî, who is the principal source of the story around first mentioned Sinân. Moreover, the Karnobat foundations are from the last decade of 893 25a) (=3-13 April 1488). This is at least a full two years after Hoca Hızırzâde Sinân died. Rağkaş Sinân is clearly another person. The letter from 882 has in fact a «Sinân Pasha» who was dismissed and a separate «Rağkaş Sinân Beg» who was sent to Silistra. This Sinân must have been a relatively important man. Silistra was a large frontier district where only the most able men could be used. Although there certainly must be more evidence on the carrier of this Sinân I was unable to find it. Sinân could not have been long in Silistra. In 884 (1479/80) he is mentioned as tutor (Lala) of Bayezîd II. then prince, residing in Amasya²⁶. In this capacity he conquered the castle of Torul in the Pontic Mountains behind Trabzon²⁷, a region which until then had sided with the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan. After the mentioned event Rağkaş Sinân must have been left by Bayezîd to take further care of the Trabzon area. Mahmud Goloğlu mentions this in his work on the history of Trabzon a sancağ begi between 1479 and 1489, ²⁸ when he was succeeded by Prince Selîm, the later Yavuz sultan Selîm. Hence it appears that Sinân was maintained at his post also after Bayezîd had succeeded to the throne. Rağkaş Sinân is again mentioned in 1486, serving in the capacity of sancak begi of Trabzon in the unhappy campaign of Hersekoğlu Ahmed Pasha to oust Mamluks from Cilicia. By then he was himself pasha. In Trabzon Rağkaş Sinân had a garden laid out with

25a The Bulg. text has «the end», which has to be the standart formulae «evâljir, or: «the last decade.»

26 See: I. H. Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol I, Istanbul 1971, p. 344. More details on the Ottoman princely residence of Amasya and Rağkaş Sinân see: Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Leiden, 1976 («Rağkaş Sinân, Lâlâ» on p. 42 ff, 72 and 165).

27 Danişmend, *Kronol.*, I, p. 344; also: Mahmut Goloğlu, *Trabzon Tarihi*, Ankara, 1975, p. 19.

28 Trabzon Tarihi, p. 301. It is not clear how reliable were Goloğlu's sources for the stay of Rağkaş Sinân in Trabzon between 1479 and 1489 because in an Ottoman Timar register of the first of Rebi.ü'l-evvel 889 (=29 March 1484) a «Silistra Sancağ Begi Sinân Beg» is mentioned (See: L. Fekete, *Die Siyâkatschrift*, I. p. 124.

a çeşme erected in it, next to the Fâtîh Câmisi of that city (the former church of the Virgin Chrysokephalos). This fountain is preserved and has an inscription dated 888 (1483), which was published by Hâfil Edhem²⁹. It gives us yet another means to pin our man down with a large degree of reliableness. Besides this very scanty information on our Sinân there are a few notes in the vaqıfnâme of his foundations in Karnobat. According to this safely dated source, which moreover calls our man with his lağab «Rağğaş» (= the Dancer), Sinân possessed a landed estate as mülk, situated «in the village of Köpekli in the district of Karnobat» (today it is called Skobelovo and situated in the district of Sliven) In this village Sinân had lived for a while. This is mentioned more than once in the document. He must also have lived in the town of Karnobat itself as the vaqıfnâme explicitly states that he had transformed «his own house» into a mekteb. This house was situated not far from the mosque he had erected in Karnobat. Have we to conclude that Sinân was a descendant of the early Turkish colonists of the Karnobat district, the Evlâd-ı Fâtîhan, who possessed the ground and hence were entitled to transform it into vaqf? Or was he a *devşirme* lord who for one reason or another was stationed in a village in Thrace?. The scanty evidence we have points to the first possibility. Sinân must, if we accept the first mentioned case, have been born in Köpekli, also known as Hacı Hızır, and moved later to Karnobat. After he had made his career, in which manner I do not know, he must have conceived the idea of promoting his borough of Karnobat into a real kasaba by the erecting of a Friday Mosque (the prime requisite for being promoted from village into town), school, a bath and other objects. Karnobat was better suited for this than the village of Köpekli because it had a castle and was already the seat of the administration of a *nahiye*. Perhaps it was bigger and certainly better situated than Köpekli. The buildings in Karnobat were erected rather long before the vaqıfnâme was drawn up. Local tradition maintains that they were built in 1460. Perhaps we have to bring the construction in connection with Sinân's term as governor of Silistra, in which province Karnobat was situated, as noted previously. After 1488 Rağğaş Sinân again disappears from the stage. Perhaps he died a few years later, maybe in retirement on his Thracian estate. In 1512 he was almost certainly dead. In that year the Grand Vizier of Bayezid II, Koca Muştafâ Pasha included a watermill formerly belonging to «Mes'ûd Çelebi ibn-i Rağğaş Sinân Beg» in the *kaza* of Jambol to his large vaqf in İstanbul³⁰. This is mentioned in the *tahrîr* of İstanbul from 1546. The mill must have been transferred to the mentioned vaqf during Muştafâ Pasha's

29 Trabzonda Osmanlı Kitâbeleri, in: Tarihi Osmânî Encümeni Mecmuası, No 45.

30 See: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 953 târihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, İstanbul, 1970, p. 367.

lifetime, thus before 1512. If Sinân was still alive when the transaction took place he would have been the one who sold it and not his son. What might be concluded is that the descendants of Sinân had property in the district of Karnobat. The stipulations in the *vaqıf nâme* further strengthen our impression that the family of Sinân had connections with Thrace, that they came from that area. The document mentions as part of the *vaqıf* a *hamâm* in the town of «Anhial» (= Anhialos, on the Black Sea coast, now called Pomorie) and some shops in Edirne besides the mentioned village of Köpekli and a large *mezra* between the villages of Kurt Hoca and Aş Bunar (now Vûltsin in the rayon of Karnobat, province of Burgas, and Bjäl Kladenets in the province of Sliven³¹. The villages are all close to each other, at the point where the present borders of the Bulgarian provinces of Burgas, Sliven and Jambol meet. Anhialos is 52 km to the east of Karnobat, straight through the plain, and Edirne 130 km over the old road along the Tunca, long since closed.

The works Sinân Beg founded in Karnobat were, according to the document: a *Mescid-i Câmi*, a *hamâm*, a school (*mualimhâne*), an *imâret* and a water supply system (*su yolu*), and mentioned *hamâm* in Anhialos, known as: Sinân Beg *Hamâmı*. Besides a detailed description where the landed property, devoted to the *vaqıf* were situated there are provisions for the staff of the institution and their salaries. The provisions for the personel appears rather incomplete but this may be due to the Bulgarian translation, or better, extract. It becomes clear that the intentions of Sinân Beg were twofold, a combination of magnanimity and concern to promote Islamic culture in this part of the empire, and a healthy down to earth concern for the wellbeing of his descendants³² it is a combination of altruism and self interest which can be observed in many Ottoman *vaqıfs*³³ and which is perhaps the very reason why the system worked so long and so well.

31 For the concordance of Turkish and Bulgarian village names see Koledarov, *Protonite*.

32 The stipulation that 1/3 of the revenue of the village goes to the *mütevelli*, or to the son and descendants of the founder, is unusual. More common is 10 %. For materials for comparison see the following note.

33 For publications of a great number of Ottoman *vaqıf nâmes* see: Tayyib Gökbilgin XV - XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı Vakıflar - Mülkler - Mukataalar, Istanbul, 1952; Hasan Kaleşi, *Najstariji Vakufski Dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na Arapskom Jeziku*, Pritina, 1972, Gliša Elezovic, *Turski Spomenici (Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Zbornik za Istocnjačku Istorisku i Književnu Gradje, Beograd 1940; or: Muhammed Ahmed Simsar, The Waqfiyah of Ahmed Paşa, University of Pennsylvania Press, London-Oxford 1940. For the Vakf system in general see: Fuad Köprülü, L'Institution du Vakouf, sa nature juridique et son evolution historique, in: Vakıflar Dergisi, Ankara, 1942, p. 3-48 (Partie Française - also in Turkish); or: H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Oxford Univ. Press, London, New York, 1957 and 1962, '65 and '69), vol II, p. 165 - 180, etc.*

Besides a supervisor (mütevelli), and a *nazir* there should be the following persons as staff:

One teacher at the school	daily 2 dirham
one <i>ḥatîb</i> for the mosque	» 2 »
one <i>imâm</i> » » »	» 4 »

(this was 3 d. for his *dujy* as *imâm* and one more d. for his work as Kur'an singer)

one <i>müezzîn</i> » » »	» 1.5 »
one collector of the revenue of the foundation	

(<i>câbî</i>)	» 1 »
three Kur'an singers, 1 dirham each	» 3 »

For the mescid in the village of Köpekli:

one <i>imâm</i>	» 2 »
one Kur'an singer	» 1.5 »

For the person who would carry out the repairs of the buildings of the foundation

» 1.5 »

There had to be a substitute for the Kur'an singer of the mescid at Köpekli but no salary is given for him. Perhaps we should understand that the 1.5. dirham for the main singer, which is relatively much, should partly be used for this substitute. The mentioned twelve men of the staff of mosque, mescid and school received thus daily 20.5 dirham. There are also provisions of one dirham for writing paper, school books and pens for the children of the school, half a dirham daily for the oil for the lamps of the Karnobat mosque, for the candles and the rush mats, and the same sum for the same three articles for the mescid of Köpekli. This brings us at a yearly total of 7.277,5 dirham. There are no provisions for the personel of the imaret (soup kitchen for the poor) although this institution definitely figures on the list of Sinân's works. There are also no provisions for the personnel of the two hamâms and no provisions as to what should be cooked and how much be spent for food at the imâret. Did Sinân Beg provide for this in an appendix (*zeyl*) to this *vaqıfnâme* somewhat later, or is the word «*imâret*» misunderstood when the Bulgarian translation was made? It is difficult to say. It can be added, in this context, that Evliyâ Çelebi, writing a 170 years after the *vaqıfnâme* was written, noted that Rağğaş Sinân's foundations (*hayrâtı*) included, a mosque, mescids, children schools, tekkes, some khans (all given in the plural), and a pleasant bath, but no imâret. If the foundations of Sinân Beg did include this institution then we have to count at least four men for its staff, which gives, including three servants in each bath, certainly 23, or 24 men. If this is correct than the foundation provided livelihood for no less than a hundred people. I do not give all these numbers for their own sake but only to given an idea of what a sizeable group of people had fixed work and fixed income through this foundation and what a positive influence this relatively large group must have had on the economic life of

the emerging township. It should be added that a salary of one akçe in the last quarter of the 15th century was not unusual.

We find this amount in numerous *vaqıfnâmes*³⁴, even in the 16th century, when the value of this coin had deteriorated noticeably.

Karnobat and surroundings did not suffer from war or foreign invasion until the years round 1800, as previously stated. In this troubled time the town was half destroyed. More destruction followed during the Russian invasion of 1828/29³⁵. The town did recover from these blows but suffered again in and after 1877/78, at the eve of the independance of Bulgaria, when masses of Turks fled to Anatolia. When Jireček visited the town, in the eighties of the last century, Karnobat made a deserted impression. Most of its Turkish inhabitants had fled but their place was taken over by Bulgarians, mostly newcomers. In that time it numbered 5.096 inhabitants³⁶. In these years, as can be expected, Karnobat lost almost entirely its Turkish character. The mosques, khans, mescids and mektebs that had survived the troubles of the earlier years disappeared then. The mosque of Rağkaş Sinân Beg, locally known as the Ağ Câmî (White Mosque) was demolished around 1910. In 1978 only three Ottoman objects remain preserved in this town, all standing in the oldest part of town just below the hill of Hisar. They are the Clock Tower from 1841, built by Bulgarian masters, the K̄ara Câmî (Black Mosque), and the hamâm of Sinân Beg. The tower and the bath are both registered as Monument of Culture and protected by the laws of the Bulgarian state. The mosque is a reconstruction of an older building. It was, according to the preserved inscription, built (rebuilt) on order of the 'ayân of Karnobat, Halîl Ağa, «Ser-i Bevvâbîn» (K̄apucıbaşı) at the Sublime Porte in the year 1241 (1825/26), thus between the anarchy of the Krdžali period and the Russian invasion^{36a}. The hamâm is an irregular version of a single-bath, which derives its special place in the history of Ottoman architecture by the profusion of stalactite work of high quality, that cover the greater part of the vaults and the domes. Stylistically it is built along the traditions of the time of Murâd II in Edirne, the metropolis close by. The bath is but of modest size but as to inventiveness and quality of execution

34 See note 33.

35 Jireček, *Fürstenthum*, p. 515/16.

36 This number is given by Jireček, p. 515/16. The *Sâlnâme* of the Edirne Vilayeti of 1291 (1874) gives 2.764 male inhabitants, or little over 5.000 altogether. At about the same time Felix Kanitz, *Donau Bulgarien und der Balkan*, III, p. 97, gives 700 houses, of which 400 were inhabited by Turks, 200 by Bulgarians, 60 by Spanish speaking Jews and 40 with Gipsies.

36a A plan of this mosque, a description of it and a transliteration of the mentioned inscription, as well as plan and description of the hamam of Sinân Beg will be given by me in a major work concerning the Ottoman architectural heritage in Albania, Bulgaria and Greece, now in final stage of preparation.

it does not lag behind the great Ottoman centre and is not «provincial» at all. This is a feature we can observe on a number of buildings in the Ottoman Rumeli of the 15th century and underlines the great importance the Balkans once had for the formation of the empire. As such the only preserved of all Sinân Beg's foundations is a valuable link in the chain of development of Ottoman utilitarian architecture and tells us something of the quality of the now disappeared other buildings Sinân the Dancer founded in the humble Thracian town, a value now happily realised by those in charge for the Ancient Monuments in Bulgaria today. Although the main content of the vakıfnâme of Sinân Beg was given in the above, it might nevertheless be of some utility to give an English translation³⁷ of the Bulgarian version of the old text, as the original has not yet been brought to light. I will follow the Bulgarian version as close as possible, only adding words between square brackets if strictly necessary. The words between round brackets figure in the Bulgarian text as further explanation. It might be noted that the Bulgarian translation follows closely the original as the whole makes typically the impression of a shortened Ottoman vakıfnâme, with all terms and formulations usually found there. Only the invocation and the (religious) introductory notes fail completely, as do the names of the witnesses.

«Bulgarian Antiquities.»

Extracts from the Vakfie.

First. In the vakiame (testament) on the name of foundations (vakf) of Rikas Sinan Bej, which has been made by him for the salvation of his soul in 893 at the end of Rebiul-ahır from the flight of Mohammed, has been written that he made a beautiful mescid-mosque in the town of Karin-abad (Karnobat) and since he separated from his own property, with the rights he had upon it i.a. the lands situated in the village in which he lived under the name tsjiflik [= çiftlik, under the name of a çiftçi ?]: Hadži Hızır³⁸, or with another name Köpekli in the district of Karnobat, where he also built one mescid. The lands are within the following boundaries: they start from the four sides from the large İdža [ılıca] which lies on the river Elmalı along the river on the upper side they touch with the large Dikili taş then upwards to Yaıklık on the Kodža-dere, then to the Kodža-dere, to the place of the Church in the area of «Emirler», then to the graveyard of Upsal, then to the Dogandžik Merası and from the main Ismail mezra till Degirmendere then along the dere to the Geziler path, then along the river road to the

37 I wish to thank Dr. Harry Pijenburg, Rotterdam, for his help with the translation into English of this unusual text.

38 In this translation the Old Bulgarian letter **Ѣ** has been transcribed as the modern Turkish dotless -ı- because this letter approaches the Old Bulgarian one very close.

graveyard of the village of Demirhailık³⁹, then along the Kasablık-path, then to the road which runs below the village of Eski Köpekli, then along the river road till the beginning marked, namely till the Plemata Lıdža. Afterwards the pious founder devoted to the mentioned mosque and mescid two hamams, one in the town of Karnobat and the other in the town of Anhial, known as Sinan Begovi Hamami, with all their equipment, their rights and taxes have to be spent on the functioning of the mentioned mosque and mescid and for the following functioning of the school. The founder has furthermore devoted in the capital (by that time) of Odrin [Edirne], in front of the Kebri Kapusu seven dükans around the main road, attached one to another, for the works of repair and construction of the devoted bath in Karnobat, for the water-conduit and for the repair of the conduit of running water for the holy mosque, he furthermore devoted the mentioned lands and devoted lands in the village of Köpekli with the shown borders, with all the rights on them and all the mezri,⁴⁰ Commons, right of grazing (mesarih), roads (muvarii), fruit-bearing and non-fruit bearing trees with all their sides and causes and legal taxes (rüsüm-i şeriye), and obliged rates (örfiye). The guardianship and survey of the mentioned devotions has to be carried out by the founder himself as he claimed as long as he is alive and has the use of the products, and when the light of his eyes would close (died) it should be carried out by his eldest adult son, later by their sons from generation to generation. Later he made the condition that after him his eldest son should inherit who should bear the name of Beşir Murad son of Abdullah, later his sons and their sons⁴¹). The condition is that the guardians and surveyors (mütevelii and nasırı) after they will have fulfilled their duties and obligations will take the right of guardianship from the rent of the two baths one tenth and from the products of the devoted lands one third. Who will be by this time guardian will try with a knife in his hands by all means to fulfill in all orders the use of their profits (istiglyana⁴²) for all the things of the istiglyala of the mentioned devotions and all the muagali (zanats) [crafts] and for the finishing of all the orders of using the founder made the condition of doing the utmost for the benefit of the devotions. Since

39 The Bulgarian translator added that in his time there was no village called Demir-Zhailik, but there was one called Demirdişli, in the district of Sliven.

40 Is: mezra'a, uninhabited but arable land.

41 Did Rağkaş Sinân adopt a son with this name and did he change his vaqıfnâme in the latter's interest, or is it an indication of his devşirme origin?

42 Perhaps both are to be recognized as: istiğlâl, or istiğlâl (lawful, legitimate; kind of mortgage)?

the guardian of the foundations collects all the taxes he will keep them by God's will back from the rent and the income, nümat (benefit) from the tax (rüsim) and from the other revenues of the described devotions which have first of all to be spent for the prosperity of the mosque, the mescid, and the school and for the imaret (charity building), secondly for definite cases. The pious founder converted into a school his own house which is situated not far the mosque. He appointed to this school a teacher to be engaged in the teaching of the Holy Writ (Kuran) to the orphans of the inhabitants-muslims, on the condition that the teacher will not take anything from the school, he determined two dram [= dirham] (silver) a day, and from the revenue of the devotions for the ink, the books, and the pens of the pupils determined one dram a day. The pious founder determined for the function of preacher (hitabet of the mosque from the interest of the silver in any case two dram a day, for the function of priesthood (imamet) three dram a day and so for the singer (müestini) three dram a day, for the said mosque for a part (kısmeti) of the day [?] one and a half dram a day, for its džabiya (tax collector) one dram a day, for oil, candles and rush mats, from the revenue of the devotions half a dram a day. The pious founder determined and made the condition that three men out of the readers of the Koran will be engaged in reading in the said mosque every day from the thirty parts [ciiz] of the Divine Book three parts [a day] from God's word. From three parts one part will be read for the soul of God's Prophet, the other for the souls of the followers of our Prophet Muhammed, the other for the soul of the pious founder. He determined for every reader one dram a day. He determined that he who is imam of the mosque that he reads every day one part of the Holy Koran and devotes this to the holy soul of God's Prophet and settled to be given for this reading one dram a day. The pious founder determined for the priesthood of the mescid built by him in the village in which he lived two dram a day: to him who is singer [müezzin] one and a half, he should have a substitute, fixing half a dram for oil, for candles and rush-mats. He determined for them who makes repairs to the foundations when necessary one and a half dram a day, and when there will appear more [necessary for the repairs], except for the mentioned expenses of the revenue of the devotions, by the hand of the guardian and by the surveyor will be spent after approval of the guardian, there where the guardian approves. The pious founder devoted all the arniz (mezrata) called by the name Kurd Hadži in the district of Karnobad, with the following boundaries, which was his property till there where the foundation is, which was his own estate and possession with all the equipment, the four sides of menti-

oned devoted lands are: in the east with the village of Naib-Ali Musluman, in the north to the mountain in the west it runs from the boundaries of the village of Akbunar till the path of Elmalı. These devoted lands, within all the mentioned boundaries, with all the rights, subjections, annexations, the internal and external benefits with all their rights, he made the condition that all mentioned revenue from the fallow land (mezra) should be spent only for the preachers of the mosque which he built in his village. He devoted the mentioned goods according to the demands of the current rules of the Holy Law, with all the true conditions devoid of violating obstacles containing the necessary decree with final true decree with honourably clear testament with eternal confirmation, a final and categorical decree. Afterwards the local judge, having confirmed the authenticity and necessity of the foundations and having registered in his book precisely the conditions, registered it with the holy legal registration in the book according to the demands of the rules of the Holy Laws and the religicus rules. According to these denotations, according to as he confessed, it has been registrated in the register of the pious foundation as well⁴³. These devotions cannot be sold, be given away, be inherited, be put in pawn in no way and by no reason be given up from now on as long as the world exists, as long as mankind is on the world, as long as God is eternal, or the prophetic substitute, (Khaliph), sultan (imperator), king (melik), Vezir (minister), amir (duke), kadi (judge of the holy law), müfti, (interpreter of the law or defender of the holy law), and professor (müderris) and from the members of mankind everybody who believes in God, in His Prophets and in the Last Judgement, nobody is allowed to violate this foundation, to misinterpret, to change, to destroy, to deny, to alter. Whoever tries to violate, he wishes to misuse it. Nobody, as he will hear about it shall rise to alter it, a curse will fall upon him because God sees and hears and knows everything, he stands upon him, he will attract to him God's curse and the of the angels and all the members of mankind. Written in the year 893, at that and of Rebiul-ahur». So far the text of the vakıf nâme of Rağkaş Sinân in Karnobat.

A number of questions have been raised in this short article, many of them have to be left unanswered. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Ottoman original of the document here dealt with must be preserved somewhere in Bulgaria. Presumably in Sofia, where all extant Ottoman material has been concentrated since long. In the past 25 years Bulgarian orientalists, cataloguing, restoring and translating impressive parts of the enormous treasure of Ottoman documents in the Sofia National Lib-

43 The register of the vakıf, kept by the Cadi.

rarely have by and large concentrated on land tenure, law and economics⁴⁴. An approach characteristic of the somewhat economic-determinist concept of historiography in vogue there over the past decades. This approach counts among the reasons why not only the Ottoman belle lettres have received next to no attention but also the mass of vaqıfnâmes, which are said to be preserved there. This, in spite of the wealth of information they contain on economy, not to speak of topography and social history etc. So we have to wait for what can be discovered in the Turkish archives. If this little article has caused the reader to realise what an amount of work still lies ahead of us before we can think of writing a reasonably «definite» history of the Ottoman Balkans it has more than fulfilled its purpose.

44 I cite only the collective work, still going on: *Turski Izvori za Balgarskata Istoriya*, vol I 1964, II, 1966, III, 1972, IV, 1973, V, 1974 VI, 1977 in which each volume with translations is followed with a volume of facsimiles, usually of all the documents given.

XIII

TWO LITTLE KNOWN MONUMENTS OF EARLY AND CLASSICAL OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN GREEK THRACE

HISTORICAL AND ART-HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE HAMĀMS OF TIMURTAŞ PĀŞAZADE ORUÇ PASHA (1398) AND FERIDUN AHMED BEG (1571) IN DIDYMOTEICHON

In a previous article in this journal¹ we tried to stress the importance of Greek Macedonia and Thrace for the old Ottoman Balkans, and especially for its great, but still insufficiently known art². Whereas we previously focussed

1. In *B.S.* 12.2 (1971) pp. 415-462. As the present article is not in the first place written for the handful of Orientalist but for a more general public we deemed it necessary to explain some oriental terms and practices which do not belong to everybody's knowledge. Those who are initiated can better skip them.

2. As "Ottoman Architecture" we want to call those monuments constructed within the former limits of the Ottoman empire and constructed on order of an Ottoman patron by Ottoman Turkish architects and master builders according stylistic and aesthetic principles peculiar to the Ottoman empire alone. In its formative period this style absorbed elements of the art of its predecessors, the Seljuks of Anatolia but also incorporated minor influences from the art of the contemporary Turkish Beyliks of Anatolia and to a limited extent some Byzantino-Slavic influences and even a few isolated elements of the "colonial gothic" of the Crusader kingdoms in the Mediterranean. Around 1400 a synthesis was reached in which the foreign elements remain sometimes recognisable but the whole concept is a wholly new one. In the so-called, 'Classical' Ottoman period the style evolved into one the great arts of the Islamic world, independent and self conscious and no longer open to alien influences. The latter penetrated again in the 18th century, by way of Western Europe. Being an art which was formed in the great centres of the empire, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul and the product of a strictly centralised state it is logic to see real Ottoman works in the central provinces of the empire, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria on the European side and Western and Central Anatolia south of the Bosphore. In the border provinces such as the Peloponnese, Epirus, Albania and Bosnia, or in Syria and Kurdistan in the East, the imperial art did hardly take root. Although a large number of mosques, baths, medreses, caravanserais etc. were built in these lands in the Ottoman period and more or less in accordance with the official style we are able to discern the influences of the local environment quite easily.

The problem of who built the Ottoman mosques, who were the master builders, carpenters, stone masons, plumbers, glaziers etc. has convincingly been worked out by Omer Lütfi Barkan for the best time of the empire, the 16th century. His publication of the voluminous paybooks of that time allow us at once to do away with the numerous legends as that certain Balkan nations carried out the work (this is true only for the architecture of the 18th and 19th century). The bulk of the artists and workmen were Muslim Turks, sons of Muslim

on two centres in Northern Greece, and discussed some of the outstanding works of Ottoman architecture in the cities of Komotini and Serres we will now concentrate on two almost wholly overlooked monuments in the old town of Didymoteichon. These monuments, or rather the ruins of them, deserve special attention for two reasons. Firstly both are outstanding works of Ottoman utilitarian architecture, secondly they are the works of some of the most outstanding men of the old Ottoman empire. We mean the hot baths (hamām, from the Arabic root 'ḥamma': 'to make hot') of Oruç Pasha and of Feridun Ahmed Beg. The hamām of Oruç is perhaps the very oldest Ottoman bath preserved in South-Eastern Europe today, that of Feridun is one of the most original of its kind, a product of the most mature period of the classical phase of Ottoman architecture: the seventies of the 16th century.

Both works have come down to us in a very ruined state and not much is known about them locally³. Fortunately we possess the notes of four Ottoman geographers which, combined together, allow us to determine which is which and give us sufficient detail to reconstruct the history of the buildings. Usually Ottoman geographers do not give much information on baths. They just mention the names and the number of the baths, which institution they took for granted. The reason why they made an exception for the baths of Didymoteichon (Dimetoka in Ottoman) is that these works were local celebrities and moreover, built by men who were known by the educated Ottomans because of their contribution to the immense treasure house of Ottoman historical writing. Both men, Oruç, but especially Feridun Ahmed were, what was called: "şāhibü's-seyf ve'l-kalem" (Master of Sword and Pen), an Oriental

Turks. As the empire was a multinational state it is clear that non Muslims also had their share. In the mentioned paybooks every single master is mentioned by name and patronym and the place where he came from is noted. See: O. L. Barkan, "Türk yapı ve Yapi Malzemesi Tarihi için Kaynaklar", in: *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 17, No 1-4, İstanbul 1955/56 pp. 3-26; and with all the desirable details in his great monography: *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti inşaatı*, Ankara, T.T.K. 1972.

For a tentative study on local influences see: M. Kiel, "Reflections on the origins of provincial tendencies in the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans", in: *Islam in the Balkans / Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Papers arising from a symposium held to celebrate the World of Islam. Festival at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh 1979, pp. 18-29.

3. Locally we were told that the hamām of Feridun Ahmed was built by "sultan Murad" and finished by "sultan Bayezid". Dr. Fred de Jong, who visited Didymoteichon in 1979, was told that the bath was built by "Oruç Paşa". As in all 'legends' there is some truth in these statements. Ottoman sultans were indeed active in Didymoteichon but the names given are altogether wrong.

pendant of the European medieval and Renaissance "Arma et Litterae".

It is not curious or accidental to find two works of architecture of the greatest originality in such a provincial town as Didymoteichon. It is also no hazard that both mentioned men are the founders of these works. In Ottoman times Didymoteichon was not larger than today⁴ but it was certainly more important. It was, as is known, the first residence of the Ottoman rulers in Europe. It was captured before Edirne/Adrianople and the first sultans' palace in the Balkans was there⁵. The state treasure was kept for a long time between the strong circuit of the double walls of the Byzantine period⁶. Sultan Bayezid II son of Mehmed II, was born in the palace of Didymoteichon⁷. Some decades before that event another ruler, Mehmed I, erected in Didymoteichon one of the largest and most magnificent mosques of the Balkans⁸, the Çelebi Mehmed Mosque still dominating the skyline of the little town. 'Dimetoka' was also the place which Bayezid II selected for his retirement after he had abdicated from the throne of Osman in 1512. Of greater importance perhaps was the place of Didymoteichon as a seat of Islamic learning. In the 16th century the little town boasted no less than three colleges (medrese) where a number of the most famous of the Ottoman scholarly world have worked as professors.

4. Bertrand de la Broquière, (*Voyage d'Outremer*, edited by Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1892 p. 172/73) ambassador of Duke Philip of Burgundy, passed Didymoteichon in 1433 and called it a: "bien grande ville" and a "tres belle place," with 400 houses. Barkan marked it on his map reflecting the ethnic situation in the Balkans from around 1510/20 with 300 houses of which the half was Muslim and the other half Christian. (Ö. L. Barkan, "Les deportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'empire Ottoman", in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, 11, No 1-4 Istanbul, 1953, pp. 1-65). Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, vol. VIII, printed edition, Istanbul 1928, p. 73 and 75, mentions in 1667/68 a hundred prosperous houses in the castle, inhabited by non-Muslims, and 600 houses in the open town, exclusively inhabited by Muslims. 700 households would mean a population of 4000 or 5000 souls. As the Ottoman census registers of the 15th and 16th century concerning Didymoteichon are still unpublished, we have to do without this vast source of information, which allows the most detailed research on topographical ethnic/religious and economic problems of the area covered by this kind of sources.

5. For the Ottoman conquest of Thrace and Didymoteichon cf. Franz Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, Brunn-München-Wien, 1944, p. 48. G. Ostrogorski, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2th edit. Oxford 1968, p. 536 (with further literature), or: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs, La pénétration turque en Thrace*, etc. in: *Travaux et Mémoires*, I, Paris, 1965, pp. 439-461.

6. For the Byzantine castle see in detail: Philippos-Adonis Giannopoulos, *Didymoteichon. Geschichte einer byzantinischen Festung*. Inaugural-Dissertation Köln, 1975.

7. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, München, 1953, p. 53.

8. For this mosque see: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. sultan Murad devri*, Istanbul, 1972, pp. 136-150, with numerous fotos, plans etc.

Among them was Ahmed Taşköprüzâde⁹, and one of the authors whose notes we used for this article, the learned Kadi Abdurrahman Hibri Efendi. On an official list of colleges in the Balkan provinces of the empire, made up in the second half of the 17th century, no less than six colleges are mentioned to have functioned in Didymoteichon¹⁰. If this list is correct¹¹ this means that the little town ranked foremost as centre of learning in the Balkans, in second place following Gallipoli (9 medreses) but much ahead of famous centres as Târnovo in Bulgaria (5 medreses), Larissa in Thessaly (4 medreses) or the much better known centres of Oriental culture as Sarajevo (3 medreses) and Monastir (3 medreses) not to speak of Sofia, Belgrade or Thessaloniki. The importance of Didymoteichon in this respect will perhaps be more clear if we remember that there were, in the 17th century, in 69 cities and towns of the Ottoman Balkan institutions of higher Islamic learning, with a total of 120 colleges. This gives an average of less than two colleges per town. We deemed this little detour necessary for a good understanding of what kind of place Didymoteichon was.

The founder of the oldest of the Didymoteichon baths, Oruç Pasha¹², belonged to one of the most outstanding families of the empire in its early years. His father was the second Beglerbeg (Governor-General) of all Ottoman Europe: Kara Timurtaş Pasha¹³. Timurtaş had four sons, Oruç, Umur,

9. For this great scholar see the article "Tashköprüzâde" in *Enzyklopaedie des Islams*, vol. IV, Leiden, 1936, p. 747; or Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, p. 84 vv; or the biography at the end of his great bibliographical work "eş-Şaka'ik en-Nu'maniya", most easily accessible in the German translation of Oskar Rescher, Konstantinopel/Stuttgart, 1927, photomechanical reprint, Biblio Verlag, Osnabrück, 1978 (the autobiography on pp. 340-345).

10. For this list see: Kemal Özergin, "Eski bir Rûznâme'ye göre İstanbul ve Rumeli medreseleri", in: *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 4/5, İstanbul, 1974, pp. 263-290.

11. This valuable list, however, is incomplete. It does not mention, for example, the well known medrese of Ishak Begoğlu Isa Beg in Skopje (Üsküb), the Koski Mehmed Pasha Medrese and the Ruznâmeçi Ibrahim Medrese in the important Hercegovinan city of Mostar, etc. The medreses of Umur Beg, Cerrah-başı and Perviz Efendi in D. are only mentioned in this source. The only mention we could find on a school of Perviz Efendi was his medrese in İstanbul. The problem calls for detailed research because a complete survey of the institutions for higher learning in the old Ottoman empire was never given. Very useful is the recent work of Cahid Baltacı, XV. XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri, Teşkilat, Tarih, İstanbul, 1976, which in spite of its more than 700 pages is still incomplete.

12. For the biography of Oruç we used the following sources: Aşıkpaşazâde, Sa'deddin, *Sicill-i 'Osmâni* (vol. I, p.442-443) and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin ilk dervi*, İstanbul, 1966, pp. 387-395.

13. Timurtaş succeeded Lala Şahin, the first Beglerbeg of "Rumeli" around 1383, when

Ali and Mahmud. Oruç served under Emir Süleyman, Mehmed Çelebi and Murad II. The latter made him his *Beglerbeg* of Anatolia in 826 (1423). He died, according to the Sicill-i 'Osmāniye, in 829 (1426). All the Timurtaş brothers as well as their father were great patrons of architecture. They must have had a pleasure in the development of new ways in building as all the works that have come down to us show uncommon features¹⁴. In Didymoteichon Oruç Pasha founded the first of the later so famous colleges, the 'Uruç Paşa Medrese'¹⁵. For the upkeep of the building and the payment of the staff the Pasha constructed a large public bath which in the course of time became famous as *Fısıltı Hamamı*, or: *Whisper Bath*. The revenue of the bath, as well as the rent of a few plots of garden land near Didymoteichon was devoted to the school¹⁶. It is not clear what kind of relations Oruç Pasha had

the latter is mentioned for the last time. Timurtaş' name is related with the colonization of the environs of Serres shortly after the capture of this Macedonian stronghold (1383). (For the conquest of Serres see: G. Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs" in: *Byzantion*, XXXV (1695), pp. 302-319; or: "Srpska oblast posle Dušanove smrti", in *Posebna Izdanja Visantinološkog Istituta IX*, Beograd, 1965). He was active in all the campaigns of Murad II and Bayezid I and died in Bursa in Ramazan 806 (March 1404) according to the text on his tombstone, still to be seen in Bursa, behind the large mosque he had constructed there.

14. Timurtaş himself had constructed, besides the already mentioned mosque in Bursa, a *hamâm* with a disrobing room covered with one of the largest domes produced by the Ottomans till that date (it approaches 18 metres in diameter) and the largest ever used for an Ottoman bath. The technical achievement of this construction from 1390/95 is better understood if we bear in mind that the usual Byzantino-Slavic dome of the 14th century did not exceed a diameter of five to six metres and the largest of the Middle Byzantine period, when the material resources and technical ability was much larger, never surpassed a diameter of eleven metres! (Daphni, Hosios Lukas, Aya Sophia at Thessaloniki). From the works of the Timurtaş brothers some of the works of Ali Beg in the city of Manisa (Magnesia ad Sipyle) remain preserved and those of Umur Beg in Bursa. Their history and architectural value has been discussed in detail in the magnificent works of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. Oruç' foundations fared less well. In the old Byzantine castle of Bursa he erected a *mescid* and a *hamâm* but both of them disappeared long ago. A small street, the 'Oruç Bey Sokağı' still reminds us of the man and his works.

15. The other medreses were those of Karagöz Pasha and of Abdül Vası' Efendi. The first mentioned college was perhaps built by the high court dignitary under Bayezid II (1481-1512), bearing that name. The second medrese was built in 1522/23 by Abdül Vası' Efendi, a native of Didymoteichon who studied in the Timurid capital of Herat (now in Afghanistan) and died in Mekka in 1538 after a successful career in the Ottoman empire. Before his death he bequeathed all his earthly possessions to the promotion of science. For his biography see Taşköprüzâde's *Şakā'ik*, (Rescher) p. 251/52; or Bahtaçı, *Medreseleri*, p. 150-152, with list of the professors who worked at the college in the 16th century.

16. cf. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Līvāsi*, Istanbul, 1952, p. 246/47, who refers

with the Thracian town. We only know that he had some landed estates in the surroundings of the town¹⁷. In 16th century records there appears an 'imaret of Oruç Pasha' in the village of Çobanlı (today known as 'Poimenikon'¹⁸. The revenue of the village was given to the mentioned kitchen of the poor, where free food was distributed to the needy. If we survey these facts and have no other information we may conclude that Oruç' interest in the Didymoteichon region must have been of the nature of a benevolent landlord, who knew the local needs and wanted to promote Islamic learning in the area. If he had in mind the commemoration of his name, an attitude common among the old Ottomans, he might have founded just a mosque. This would have been considerably cheaper than a medrese. The building price would be roughly the same but the daily expenditure of a medrese was much higher because the staff received a much higher salary¹⁹. Besides that each student usually received one akçe a day as pocket money. With the usual number of students at 10 or 15, as was the common Ottoman practice, this meant another 3.600 to 5.500 akçe yearly. Add the library, with which every medrese had to be equipped, and bear in mind the very high prices of books²⁰, it will be clear that a medrese was not the cheapest way to have one's name perpetuated.

to the numbers of the documents preserved in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul and gives extracts of them in Oğtoman script.

17. One of them was the village of Çobanlı, which according to the census register of 890 (1485) numbered 45 households and four bachelors and yielded yearly 4939 akçe. The other village was Branki, which in 890 had 22 households and 6 bachelors and yielded a revenue of 3372 akçe. The revenue of these villages was turned into a vakf pious foundation for Oruç' children and further descendants. The remark of Gökbilgin (ibidem, p. 247, note 16) that the medrese was in Edirne is a slip of the pen. Hibri Efendi (see further on) makes this sufficiently clear.

18. cf. Klaus Kreiser, *Die Siedlungsnamen Westthradiens nach amtlichen Verzeichnissen und Kartwerke*, Klaus Schwarz-Freiburg, 1978, p. 15/16, and 75.

19. Numerous details on salaries of staff members of various Ottoman institutions can be found in the publication of a great number of vakıfnâme's by E. H. Ayverdi Ö. L. Barkan, *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli*, Istanbul 1970; or: Hasan Kaleşi, *Najstariji Vakufski Dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na Arapskom Jeziku*, Priština, 1972.

20. It has been said that Ahmed Taşköprüzâde, mentioned above, in his quality of professor copied every year himself the text of a very famous handbook on Islamic jurisprudence and sold the copy for 3000 akçe! which money he used to defray the expenditure of the iftar meals which he offered to his students in the nights of the blessed month of Ramadan. In Ali Minik's continuation of Ş. N. p. 5. Recently Michaela Staynova published a number of bookprices taken from the registres of the Cadi of Vidin. The equivalent of the value of a good book was often as high as the price of a cow. Cf. Staynova, *Ottoman Libraries in Vidin*, in: *Etudes Balkaniques*, Sofia, 1979, No 2, pp. 54-69.

Behind the foundation of a medrese must be an expressed desire to promote learning, which was then expensive, as it is now.

In theory a sizeable bath, situated in town in the province with a considerable Muslim population could produce a sufficiently large revenue to keep a medrese going. We do not possess the 'vakıfnâme' (foundation charter) of the pious works of Oruç. Hence we do not know the extent of the property of which revenue the medrese had to function. The notes in the census of 925 (1519), which mentions the property of the Didymoteichon medrese, gives no further information and no yearly revenue²¹. According to the accounts of the Istanbul pious foundations from the year 953 (1546), published recently by Barkan and Ayverdi, one large bath in Istanbul had a revenue of 65.000 akçe yearly, another double bath (with separate sections for men and women) yielded 42.000 akçe²². To compare these incomes with those of baths in the province, with a far smaller number of customers we may cite the baths inside the castle of Modon (Methoni) on the Peloponnese, which yielded 3.800 akçe, and that one outside the mentioned walled city, which yielded 4.500. The bath of the Bulgarian townships of Nevrokop and Tatar Bazarcık yielded 7.000 and 6.500. That of Strumitsa in Yugoslav Macedonia 9000²³. Perhaps the Didymoteichon *hamâm* yielded 8.000 - 12.000 akçe and the few thousand still needed came from the rents of the garden or perhaps from another source of which we have not yet found. The *hamâm* was at any rate the chief source of income of the Didymoteichon medrese.

Let us now turn from the motives behind the construction of the bath and the school, and the economic and institutional problems around them to the buildings proper. About the medrese we can be short. It disappeared in the

21. If we compare the stipulations for the staffs and the salaries of a number of 15th and 16th century Ottoman medreses we may safely say that the one in Didymoteichon had the following staff:

a 'Müderis (professor)	with 20 akçe daily
a 'Muid' (assistant teacher)	" 5 " "
a 'Kayyum (door keeper)	" 2 " "
a 'ferrâş' (sweeper, cleaner)	" 2 " "

	29 akçe = 10.585 akçe yearly
and 3.600 for the students	= 14.185 akçe yearly for the entire foundation

22. Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr, p. 366. p. 43 has a double *hamâm* with a revenue of 63.000 akçe yearly.

23. All the smaller *hamâms*, situated in the provincial towns, belonged to the large foundation of Bayezid's grand Vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha. See Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr, p. 366-369.

last century of the Ottoman period. The Sâlnâme's ('Yearbook', issued every year by the provincial administration) of the last decades before 1912 do not mention it any more²⁴. The Sâlnâme of 1892/93, however, mentions the bath as still working and in good condition. This note contains more interesting information about Oruç Pasha and his works. Here it is better to quote the original²⁵.

"The türbe (mausoleum) of one of the most famous commanders of the armies of Islam, who remained behind here after the conquest, Oruç Pasha, is at the edge of the Great Graveyard of D. (Didimoteichon). The bath known as Fısıltı Hamâmı, a part of the property of the pious foundations of the mentioned deceased, is here preserved. It is in good state because of the condition that it must be under the jurisdiction of the Mütevelli's (administrator) of the vakfs. This bath is known as the Whisper Bath because of an arch situated inside the disrobing room; if someone sits below one side of this arch the words he whispers can be understood completely by one who sits on the opposite end of the arch and holds his ear against the wall".

We are thus here confronted with a feature similar to the famous 'Whispering Gallery' of St. Pauls Cathedral in London and certainly as famous in the old Ottoman empire as the London gallery in Britain. All four great Ottoman geographers of older times mention the curiosity of Didymoteichon.

These four geographers are: Muḥammed-i 'Aşık, from Trebisond (worked a long time in Thessaloniki), who wrote in the nineties of the 16th century; the afore-mentioned Hibri Efendi²⁶, who wrote in the thirties and fourties of

24. So for example the yearbook of 1310 (1892/93), which on p. 343 gives a survey of all the institutions for education that existed by then in the town. The little list is illustrative for the cultural policy of the empire in the last century. There was a high school (rüşdiye) for Muslim children and two primary schools for the same group, five primary schools for the Greek speaking children two primary schools for the Bulgarian speaking children one Jewish school and one Armenian school. This school policy, so greatly contrasting with the present situation in S. E. Europe and the Middle East, is an interesting one but has never been studied in detail although the provincial yearbooks provide excellent source material for such an survey.

25. Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Edirne, 1310, p. 340/41.

26. On Hibri Efendi and his work (still unpublished) see, Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*; and with more detail, Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler ve Enis-ül Müsâmirin*, in: *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara, T.T.K. 1965, pp. 77-117; and: Sevim İlgürel, *Hibri'nin Enisü'l-Müsâmirin'i*, in: *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2-3 İstanbul, 1973/74, pp. 137-158.

For Muhammed-i 'Aşık (also written as "Mehmed Aşık") see the older study of Franz

the 17th century; Hadschi Chalfa, who wrote in the forties and fifties of the 17th century²⁷; and the most voluminous writer of all, Evliyâ Çelebi, who travelled extensively in the entire empire and beyond in the sixties and seventies of the same century and wrote his ten volume 'Travelogue' in retirement in Egypt, perhaps in the eighties²⁸. Only Evliyâ wrote about the place where the baths were situated. The other authors just describe both of them but give no indication as to where the baths were situated. After his description of the Fıslı Hamâmı of Oruç Pasha Evliyâ noted that the other bath was: "situated opposite the Great Mosque"²⁹. This leaves no room for doubt. Opposite the Great Mosque, the mosque of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed, which still stands in the centre of the town today, are the remains of a sizeable İhamâm which shows outspoken features of the art of the advanced 16th century. The ruin we see today near the river bank, below the south-western corner of the Byzantine castle, is the ruin of a large bath with very ancient features, this is the once famous Fıslı Hamâmı.

It is difficult, at the moment, to give an exact plan of this bath. Some kind of minor excavation is needed to establish the form of the bathroom proper. It can at least be said with certainty that the bath was a single one, working in shifts for men and women. The whole construction measures about 25-13 metres. The original water container and heating room as well as the bathroom proper collapsed long ago and the materials of these structures were largely re-used for other constructions (houses). The former disrobing hall and the intermediary hall are still standing. One entered the bath through a finely worked gate crowned by a decorative arch. The overall impression

Teaschner, "Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen", in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift Morgenländischen Gesellsch.* II, 1921, Neue Folge; or: Richard F. Kreutel, "Ein Kirchenraub in Selânik", in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 69, Wien, 1977, pp. 73-90, who tries to illustrate how 'Aşik worked scholarly.

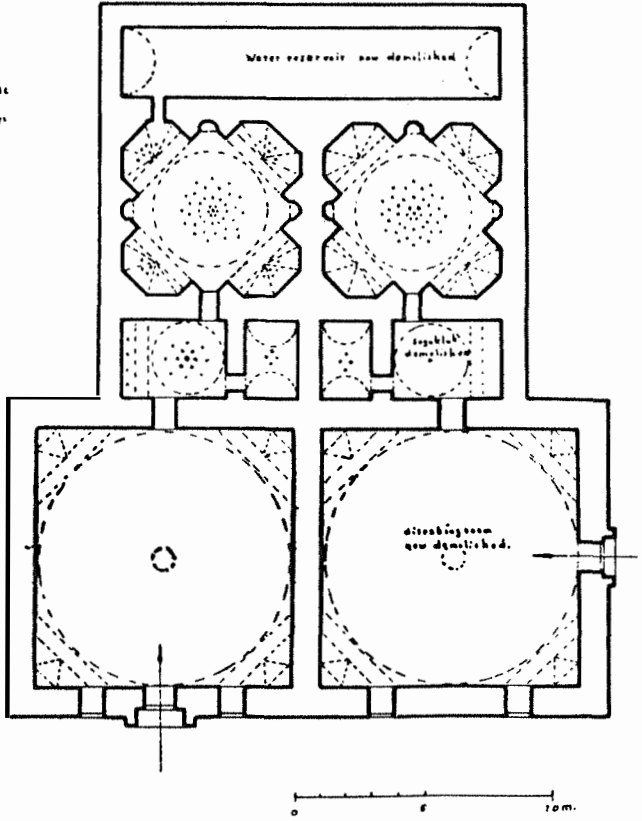
27. For notes on the life and work of this greatest Ottoman scholar of the 17th century see the article "Katib Çelebi" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², A part of his great Geography has been made accessible for non-Orientalist by J. von Hammer: Rumeli und Bosna, geog. beschrieben von Mustafa ben Abdallah Hadschi Chalfa, Wien, 1812.

Hadschi Chalfa/Katib Çelebi did not travel himself but made extensively use of the works of others who did.

28. It is impossible and irrelevant here to cite the ever growing Evliyâ bibliography. A few fundamental studies are: R. F. Kreutel, "Neues zur Evliyâ Çelebi Forschung", in: *Der Islam*, 48, 1971/72, p. 269 f.; Pierre Mackay, "The manuscripts of the Seyahatnâme of Evliya Çelebi", in: *Der Islam*, 52, 1975, p. 278/98; or the article "Ewliyâ Çelebi" in the *Encycl. of Islam*².

29. *Seyahatnâme*, vol. VIII, printed edit. Istanbul, 1928, p. 76.

Бидъмаврикхон - Диметъка.
Фердун Ахмед Ханъами
реконструкция. м/п



1. Ferdun Ahmet Hamami. Reconstruction.

of this portal reminds us of the portal of the Ghazi Mihal Hamâmı in the nearby Edirne, which bath is, as the Fısıltı Hamâmı, from the first decades of the 15th century and in just a miserable state of decay as the Didymoteichon bath³⁰. However, the Greek bath must be a twenty or thirty years older than its Turkish counterpart in neglect. The portal is built of the magnificent, travertin-like, grey lime stone which is quarried in the surroundings of Edirne and is known as 'küfeki'. The masonry of the walls of the bath is of less precious material. Behind the portal lies the largest room of the bath, 7.40-5.20 metres in size. The room is partly covered by a lofty dome which is decorated with an intricate pattern of rhombic panes and zig-zag bands. The central section of the dome is now open but was originally covered by a lantern dome which allowed daylight to penetrate the room freely. Additional light fell through three rows of eight 'eyes' (small star-shaped or hexagonal openings), placed in three circles in the zig-zag band. The remaining section of the room is covered with two arches which embrace a curved, roll-formed vault or arch. This is most certainly the 'hollow arch'³¹ mentioned by Hibri Efendi and mentioned less accurately by the other authors. The room was doubtless the disrobing room and there the Sâlnâme places the whispering arch.

To the right of the entrance was once a spacious room vaulted with a barrel vault. This room has now almost disappeared. Some traces of walls and the springs of the vault remain visible. Its function is not clear. Most probably it was the place where the wet towels were dried, or else the clothes of the customers were placed.

Usually an Ottoman bath has three sections : disrobing room, tepidarium, annex toilet room and depilatory, and the hot section proper. This hot section is always as close as possible to the water container-heating installations. Usually it is situated with its rear wall against the container. Tubes with hot and cold water run through the walls of the hot section and the half-warm section at knee height. The heat of the fire (from trunks of trees) is led beneath the floor of the hot section and the tepidarium by means of a hypocaust floor. Heat and smoke are allowed to escape through chimneys in the wall between the disrobing room and the tepidarium. The disrobing room was always without tubes in the walls and had no hypocaust floor because it did not have to be warm. This is the disposition of the Ottoman baths from the late 15th

30. For this remarkable bath see in detail: E. H. Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, p. 469-471. For a general survey of the Edirne baths see: Sabih Erken, "Edirne Hamamları", in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, X, Ankara, 1973, pp. 403-420.

31. "mücevved binâ olunmuş bir kemer" Hibri, Enis, *Codex Vindob*, fol. 46r.

century onward. At baths built before about 1460-1480 we sometimes find another procedure. In these older baths the disrobing room itself was also heated and the tepidarium (always very small in baths from the 16th, 17th and 18th century) is often as large as the hot-bath proper. Elsewhere³² we tried to trace this curious feature and the unusual kind of building plan in which it resulted to influence from the bathing practice in Syria. It is at least so that in Islamic Syria and especially in the great baths of Damascus we see the curious plan already well developed in the 14th century. The functions of the rooms were different then, and that may be the reason why Evliyā Çelebi writes that there were 'kurna's' in the room with the 'whispering arch' beside which the bathers sat. In a usual Ottoman bath there were never wash basins in a disrobing room. The presence of the spacious tepidarium and the 'kurna's, in the so-called disrobing room, tell us that we are here confronted with a bath which doubtless belongs to the 15th century, or older.

The tepidarium is reached through a door to the left of the entrance portal, immediately below the middle of the great dome. It consists of three differently covered rooms. The central one, measuring 3×4.50 m. is covered by two massive arches over the lateral wings and a curiously flat mirror vault over the central section. To the left of it is a very small room, measuring just over two metres square and covered with a rich, decorative dome made of eight different sections which were once adorned with stalactite work in cut plaster, which has now fallen off. It certainly was the toilet. The room on the right hand side of the central section of the tepidarium is a plain dome square of 3×3 metres. Its dome sits on a belt of so-called 'Turkish triangles' an element which forms the transition between the square room and the round base of the dome. It is a solution only to be found in Turkish architecture.

In the rear wall of the tepidarium is a door, now blocked, which once led to the bath room proper, the hottest section of the *Ḥamām*. This section appears to have been formed by only one large domed room but its form cannot longer be established. At least not without a minor excavation. The room appears to have been preserved for the greater part. Only the vaults have fallen in and debris fill the room. A mass of rubbish poured in the ruin makes further research difficult. In front of the collapsed room(s) are the foundations of the water container, still well recognisable.

If we survey the bath as a whole we may conclude that we are confronted here with one of the most curious and most original examples of this kind of

32. See: M. Kiel, "The Ottoman Hamam and the Balkans", in: *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, N° 9, London, 1976, pp. 87-96.

oriental utilitarian architecture we ever came across during our twenty years of field work with Ottoman monuments in the Balkans. In originality the Didymoteichon bath rivals the once famous  am ams of the old Ottoman capital in Europe, Edirne/Adrianople, which are as a group, the most curious of all Ottoman baths taken as a whole. This should be understood as pertaining to the originality of the plan and the whole set up; not as to size or richness of decoration. Some of the great  am ams of Istanbul and Bursa have larger rooms and richer decoration of stucco and ornamental domes. We would certainly like to add the Didymoteichon bath to the previously mentioned 'Edirne group' from the 15th century but perhaps the formation of this group of monuments owed more to Didymoteichon than Didymoteichon to Edirne because the Greek bath is certainly the oldest of them. Hibri Efendi, who was himself professor of the Oru Pasha Medrese in the late thirties of the 17th century³³, wrote that the medrese was built by Oru in the year 803 (1400-1401) and the  am am in 801 (runs between September 1398 and September 1399). The oldest Edirne baths are from the twenties and thirties of the 15th century (Ghazi Mihal  am amı, Beylerbey  am amı, Alaca  am amı, Taht  l-Kale  am amı). If we bear in mind that the very oldest Ottoman monument in Edirne is from the year 1399³⁴, and that 14th century Ottoman buildings in the Balkans are a great rarity, the value of the ruins of the Oru Pasha Bath will become clear to the reader. Add the famous personality, the very curious form and the long standing celebrity of the bath, and it will be obvious that, with some care, it could still be useful in various ways.

The state of preservation of the  am am of Ahmed Feridun Beg is the same as that of the foregoing. It is situated just as Evliy  elebi once pointed out, opposite the Great Mosque, on the northern side of the central square of the modern town. From the outside the bath is hardly recognisable and this might be the reason why it was most literally overlooked by the various learned men who visited the town in the last decades.

It appears that the bath of Feridun Ahmed was out of order by the beginning of our century. The last S aln me's of the years before Turkey lost Western Thrace (1912) mention only one bath in the town, which means one bath in function. This was the Fıstıltı  am amı. Very probably the inactive bath of Feridun was farmed out to shopkeepers to save at least a part of the

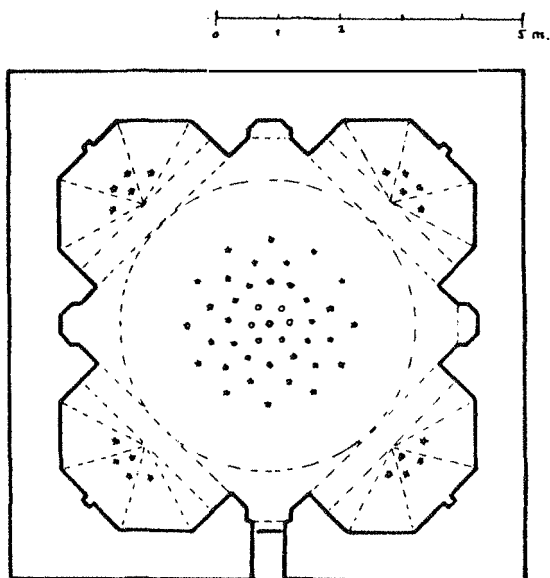
33. "anın yerine bu fakir olub, sene tis' ve arba'in ve elf cem zi' l-evvelinde vaki' olan silsilada ibrahim paŐa medresene kałkđkda yerine b li efendiz de 'abdullah olmuŐđr". (Enis, Codex Vindob. fol. 46^r).

34. Enis, Codex Vindob, fol. 46^v.

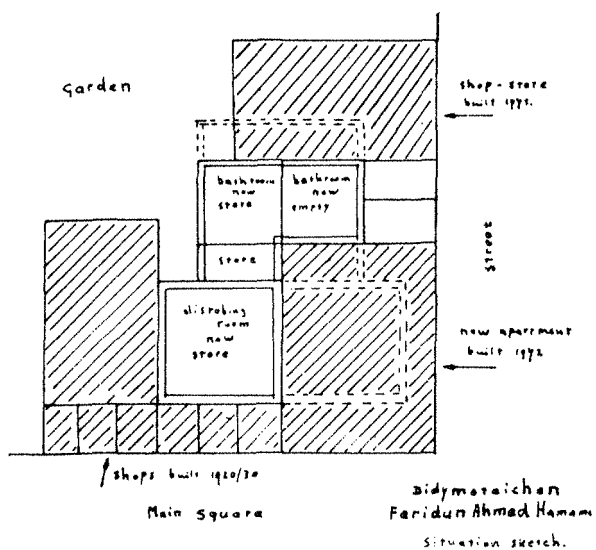
revenue of this object for the other foundations of Feridun. Later on the vakf of Feridun lost completely its hold and the new occupiers could do what they pleased with their section. The weak economic condition in this part of Thrace, however, prevented the new owners from knocking down the part of the ruin they possessed. To this situation the monuments owed its survival. It is an example of a very common phenomenon in our world, where poverty has always been the best protector of the works of the past, as money was simply lacking to make new and better suited buildings. This situation of poverty has drastically changed in North-Eastern Greece since the late sixties of this century, and with it the state of preservation of the bath of Feridun. This is almost unavoidable because the bath is situated in the very centre of town, in the middle of the business district, where ground prices are the highest. What we can do now is no more than reconstruct the bath on paper.

In its good days the bath was a double one. Being a work of the best years of the classical Ottoman architecture the bath shows for that time the usual regular tripartite lay out: disrobing room, tepidarium and hot bath proper. The disrobing room faced the central square of Didymoteichon. It was composed as a large block covered by two domes which must have been conspicuous from afar. Each domed room served one sex. The entrance of the men's section must have been from the main square, that of the women's from the street running from the square to the north. Entrances of both sexes on one and the same side of a bath were usually avoided in Ottoman bath architecture for reasons of decency. It is often said that man was representative in oriental society and that therefore the bath section for men was more monumental and larger. Especially the dome of the disrobing room of the men had to be higher than that of the women. Be this as it may, in the Didymoteichon bath both sections were exactly of the same size and monumentality.

The greater part of one of the disrobing rooms is still preserved today. This is the former men's section. The site of the women's section is now occupied by a new structure of concrete but we were able to see it still standing in the sixties. Both rooms measured internally almost exactly ten metres in square (9.96). The monumental domes that covered these halls sat on squinches formed by three interlocking triangular panes abutting against an arch thrown from corner to corner (see design). These arches sprang from consoles which were adorned with some high quality stalactite work in carved plaster. The lower part of the triangular panes was also filled with stalactite work. The style of these carvings reveal the date of construction of the bath in an eloquent manner. Even if we had no other evidence these stalactite carvings are sufficient to establish the chronology of the work. The subtle elegance of the carving



, detail, bathroom.



2. Feridun Ahmet Hamami. Situation sketch.

announces already a certain weakness which was the beginning of the post-classical phase of Ottoman architecture. The dome of the preserved room has collapsed long ago but the zone with the four squinches and the spring of the dome is still to be seen.

The bather, then, entered the tepidarium of the bath through a door in the middle of one of the walls of the main hall. This tepidarium is rather small (4.10×3.00 m.) and covered by a dome and a segmental arch. To the right of the entrance is a door which leads to the barrel vaulted toilet, annex depilatory. In the women's section this last compartment was to the left of the entrance. The small size and plain forms of this section of the bath is in accordance with the bath procedure as canonised after the last decades of the 15th century. The women's section has disappeared together with their disrobing room.

The last section of the bath is reached through a door in the tepidarium and leads to the exact center of the hot bath proper. In a bath of the size and importance of that of Feridun Beg one could expect a hot bath split up in a central hall with three extending arms and two separate rooms between these arms where the bather could have more privacy (*halvet*). In the *Didymoteichon* bath a much different solution was found. Both hot sections (both preserved, and used as store rooms) were given the very rare form of a *tetra-conche*. A relatively small domed section is visually extended through four deep niches which are covered with squinches of the same kind as used in the disrobing hall, three triangular panes. The spacial effect of the rooms is further enriched by four small decorative niches in the central axis of the room. In one of them is the entrance to the tepidarium. In one of the two hot sections was once a large water container and the heating section. This part of the building disappeared not long ago but we could still determine its size and shape.

The reconstructed plan of the bath gives the impression of a rigid symmetry. This is characteristic for Ottoman bath architecture in the 'Classical' phase (roughly the entire 16th century). The haphazard and free planning of the 15th century baths is a thing of the past. Stalactite decoration and ornamental domes, used in profusion in the 15th century are only used on a few well selected places. What makes an Ottoman room of the 16th century beautiful is the fine proportions and balance between the various elements and volumes as well as a restraint use of decoration. The difference between the Ottoman 15th and the 16th century is as in the difference between Western European Baroque and Rococo, between Louis XIV and Louis XVI. In 17th century Ottoman architecture, at least in baths, the sculptured decoration disappears wholly and the feeling for forceful, monumental proportion begins to fade and gives way for ponderous forms and large size. These works are

only impressive because of their size. In the 18th century this has also disappeared and with it the creative spirit of Ottoman art.

With the *hamām* of Feridun Ahmed Beg we are thus confronted with a work of the best part of the Classical age. It is therefore that the work is such an extraordinary one, erected in a place which was something more than common and by a man of great taste.

Hibri Efendi and Evliyā Çelebi give us the texts of two inscriptions that once adorned the bath and tell the story of its construction. Nothing of these inscriptions remains preserved. The texts appear to have been larger. The two geographers perhaps only noted the first and last section of the inscriptions, leaving those lines which only contain niceties without much meaning, out of their account. Hibri wrote:

“And the other bath is that of Feridun Beg, which has the following chronogram:

taḥsīn u ḳasem êdüb hātif dedi tārīḥin
b'illah güzel olmuş ḳamām-ı feridūm beg

(An invisible voice swore [= invoked God] and said with admiration its date: “By God, the bath of Feridun Beg has become beautiful”).

After the *hamām* of Feridun Beg had been out of repair for some time the late sultan Osman Khan repaired it in 1030 (1620/21). And this is the reason why the name of sultan Osman is written above the door”.

The last half verse is a so-called ‘tārīḥ’ or chronogram in which the date of construction is given according to and ingenuously composed verse of which every letter has a fixed value. The sum of these values gives the date (979 = A. D. 1571/2)³⁵.

35.

ba = 2	alif = 1	fa = 80	Recapitulation:
alif = 1	vav = 6	ra = 200	
lam = 30	lam = 30	ya = 10	68
lam = 30	mim = 40	dal = 4	63
he = 5	şin = 300	vav = 6	377
68	377	nun = 50	89
		350	350
			979
kef = 20	ha = 8		
vav = 6	mim = 40	ba = 2	
za = 7	alif = 1	ya = 10	
lam = 30	mim = 40	kef = 20	
63	89	32	979 = A.D. 1571/72

بالله كوزل او طش حمام فریدون بیک

The text is written according to the principles of the Arabo-Persian prosody ('arūz) which was uniformly used for the classical Ottoman poetry³⁶. The metre used is a variety of 'hecez' (---U/U --- / --- / --- / U ---) 'Hātif' (the Unseen Voice) (or Voice from Heaven) is not a pseudonym for the poet but is a commonly used metaphor if the poet did not want to 'sign' his product.

It appears that the inscription, of which Hibri has preserved at least a fragment, was removed when sultan Osman II (1618-1622) ordered the reconstruction of the bath. Hibri, who travelled in Thrace both before and after the mentioned date, must have seen the original text of Feridun. When Evliyā Çelebî made his grand tour through Greece, in 1078 (1667/68) he saw only the inscription of Osman II and is silent about Feridun Ahmed Beg, of whose publication of historical documents of the empire he was well aware. About our ḥamām he wrote³⁷:

"And the chronogram of the bath opposite the Great Mosque is:

yapdı bu ḥamāmı sultān 'osmān
cu-yı kevser ola cennetde şu

hāzır ilāç olub tāriḥ dedim
hāşılı ḥammām-ı rüşendir bu."

حاصلی حمام روسلار بو

Although this text is a bit enigmatic we may perhaps suggest the following translation:

Has built this bath Sultan Osman
may the Kevser stream of Paradise be its water
It came to be a ready-made medicine. I spoke the chronogram:
"In brief, a splendid bath is this."

The text appears to be complete, it is not a part of a longer inscription. It seems

36. For the technical aspects of Ottoman poetry and the rules of its prosody see: E.J.W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900 (reprint 1958) vol. I, chapter I and III; and Richard F. Kreutel, *Osmanisch-Türkische Chrestomathie*, Wiesbaden, 1965, "Erläuterungen zur osm. Prosodie", pp. 163-166.

37. Seyāḥatnâme VIII, printed edition, vol. VIII, p. 76.

to be written in a variety of the common Remel metre of which we know no other example (— ∪ — — / — ∪ — — / — —). Line 1a and 1b fit the metre very well, as does 2b but 2a is hopelessly out of order. No poet mentions himself as the author of these lines. Line 1b gives no logical meaning in the way it is written. Our translation is more an interpretation of what has to be understood than what is actually written in the text. The way the word *i'lâç* is written is against all rules of orthography.

There are more problems with this text. The word *hamâm* in the chronogram has to be written with a double mîm, thus as: *hammâm*, because the metre requires that the fourth syllable of the line (*ḥā*) is written as a closed one (*ḥam*). The chronogram also appears to demand the double mîm. Without it the value of the letters gives 996 (1587/88), which is 16 years before Osman II was even born (1604). Reading and counting *hamâm* as *hammâm*, however, we arrive at 1036 (1626/27), which is four years after the young sultan had met his violent end. Was his successor Murad IV so pious to write the whole reconstruction of the Didymoteichon bath on the credit of his murdered uncle? It is little likely. Is this text, or at least the manner in which it was handed down to us yet another example of the mysterious way *Evliyâ Çelebî* often worked? Is this text not a fake? Or an example of a text which the much travelled author saw and noted down much later, when his memories were blurred? Did he not 'compose' it himself, having in mind some text he had seen a few hours or days before he wrote it down? If this is true it would explain many of the peculiarities of this rather barbarous 'poem' which we can hardly expect to have figured on a sultan's building. As there is nothing left of this inscription, and other Ottoman authors (*Kâtib Çelebî* for example) are silent about it is seemed nevertheless worth while to outline its content.

Feridun Ahmed Beg (Pasha) was one of the most remarkable Ottoman figures of the 16th century. There is no ground for confusing him with another bearer of the same name as there is no other of such name in the second half of the mentioned age. Feridun Ahmed was born in Istanbul³⁸. Nothing is known about his family circumstances, which usually means that the man in

38. For these biographical notes on Feridun Ahmed we used: Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmâni*, Istanbul, 1311 (1893/94), vol. IV, p. 20; Bursalı Mehmet Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (Modern Turkish edit. Fikri Yavuz, İsmail Özen, Istanbul, 1972), vol. II, p. 111/12; Mustafâ Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selâniki* (edit. Klaus Schwarz, Freiburg, 1970), p. 162/63; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. V, Istanbul, 1971, p. 323-325. The Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Istanbul Libraries (Ist. Kütüb. Tarih, *Cografiya Yazmaları Kataloğu*, I/II, Istanbul, 1962, p. 846) mentions two *vakf-nâmes* of Feridun Ahmed which perhaps contain informations on his Didymoteichon foundations. This source was unfortunately inaccessible to us.

question was of humble descent. He was trained in the secretary branch in the household and office of the Chief Defterdar (Minister of Finances) Civizāde Abdullah Çelebi (Baş Defterdar between 1548 and 1553), later he was promoted to Secretary of the Imperial Divān. He joined the intimate circle of the famous Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollović, and became his confidant. During the Szigetvár Campaign in Hungary (1566) Feridun showed an extraordinary bravery for which he was honoured. He rose to the high post of Nişancı (the man who placed the imperial monogram on state documents, thus giving them the force of law). In 1576 he fell in disfavour with the new sultan (Murad III) and was removed from the capital. The following year, however, Feridun was made governor of the important sandjak of Semendire (Smederevo in Serbia) with Belgrade as capital and after having served another term in Kjustendil, Bulgaria, returned to the exalted office of Nişancı in 1581. Around that year he was married to the Ottoman princess 'Ayşe Sultān, daughter of Rüstem Pasha and sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's daughter Mihri-mah. Feridun died in March 1583 and was buried in a türbe he had erected previously, next to the mosque and mausoleum of the saint Eyyub Ansari and that of his friend Sokollović (Sokollu) in the Istanbul suburb of Eyyub. This türbe (Feridun's) is still preserved today. It was restored in 1945³⁹.

In Didymoteichon the remarkable man not only founded the bath discussed here but also a mosque. This mosque was still in good state in 1892 (Sālnāme) but perhaps perished shortly afterwards in the turmoil of the two Balkan Wars and World War I. The connections of Feridun with the little Thracian town still remain to be pointed out, perhaps with help of his vaqif-nāmes.

The special monument discussed above, having relatively well preserved the two hot bath sections with their rare tetraconchal plan, and partly structurally sound, could be a challenge for a modern architect to try to adapt them into a new structure such as an "Oriental" coffee-house, or a special show room, thus bringing to light its old architectural form.

39. Feridun Ahmed, the Man of Pen and Sword, whose house was ever filled with poets and witty people, left to posterity a number of important historical works as well as a volume with his poetry (divān). Among the historical works is a "History of the Szigetvar Campaign" and a "History of France" which he had translated from the French, but his renown derives from his voluminous recollection of state documents, the "Münşe'attî's-Selâşin" which authenticity caused some doubts in the past but is today regarded as a highly valuable and reliable source. It was printed several times (i.a. 1849/49 and 1858). The eloquence of his style has remained proverbial in Turkish speech.

POSTSCRIPT: Both of the oldest hamams of the Balkans mentioned in the text (p. 137), that of Oruç Bey in Didymoteichon (in Greece) and that of Ghazi Mihal in Edirne (in Turkey), were in 1989 still in the same shameful state of neglect.

THE OLDEST MONUMENTS OF OTTOMAN-TURKISH
ARCHITECTURE IN THE BALKANS*

*The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gü-
mülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the vil-
lage of Ihca/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370 - 1390).*

Brief historical and architectural remarks.

The historical Landscape of Thrace, since the events at the beginning of the present century (Balkan Wars, First World War, Treaty of Lausanne) divided in three roughly equal parts between Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece, constituted the oldest part of the Ottoman provinces in Europe. The conquest of this geographical unit, before the coming of the Ottomans a heavily contested and ruined border zone between Byzance and Bulgaria¹, took place between the

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As the intention of the article is primarily to make known some overlooked buildings and to date them on historical grounds the annotations have been restricted as much as possible.

1 For the situation in Thrace at the advent of the Ottoman conquest see Konstantin Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prag, Wien, Leipzig, 1891, p. 49-49 or a more general account, using a source unknown when Jireček wrote: M. Kiel, *The Vakıfnâme of Rakkas Sinan Beg in Karnobat and the Ottoman colonisation of Bulgarian Thrace*, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, I, Istanbul, 1980, p. 15-18. The ruined and depopulated character of Thrace prior to the Ottoman conquest is preferably left in the dark in the modern Greek and Bulgarian historiography, who put the blame of the depopulation solely on the Ottoman conquerors. The reasons for doing this have a political, not a scientific background.

mid 1350's and 1371, when the Ottoman victory over the Serbians consolidated their hold on Thrace. The process of the Ottoman conquest of Thrace is not known in detail and there is no unanimity about the key dates (conquest of Edirne: in 1361 or in 1369)² but it is at least clear that Thrace was the first province conquered by the early Ottomans and the first that was intensively colonized by Muslim Turks, coming over from Asia Minor³. It is also certain that some of the great old Ottoman warrior families, the Evrenosoğlu, the Mihaloğlu and the Turhanoğlu, played a large role in this process and acted very independently from the central power, which was still in process of formation. These warlords resided in some Thracian towns and pursued a kind of «kulturpolitik» of their own, promoting their residences to centres of Islamic culture. If we want to see the oldest examples of Ottoman architecture we should go to these places first.

In the Balkans monuments of Ottoman architecture dating from before the year 1400 are very rare. In Edirne, the first capital on European soil the first great mosques were two big old Byzantine churches, converted to other purposes after the conquest. The oldest mosque built by the Ottomans in that fair city and still extant, appears to be the Yıldırım Camii dated around the turn of the century⁴.

2 Compare Halil Inalcik, *Edirne'nin Fethi (1361)*, in : *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara, TTK, 1965, p. 138-159, and : Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs, La penetration Turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques Turques*, in : *Traveau et Memoires*, I, Paris, 1965, p. 439-461.

3 For the Turkish colonisation of the Balkans the general study remains : Omer Lütfi Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in : *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, 11 e année, No 1-4, p. 1-65. Compare also the short but rich article of M. Münir Aktepe, *XIV. ve XV. Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler tarafından iskânına dair*, in : *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 20, p. 298-299; and of course M. Tayyib Gökbilgin's classic collection of documents : *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, Istanbul, 1957.

4 For this building see: Oktay Aslanapa, *Edirne'de Osmanlı Devri Âbideleri*, Istanbul, 1949, p. 2-6; Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, Istanbul, 1966, p. 484-494 or: Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago-London, 1968, p. 105-109. Surprisingly enough Kuran declares that this mosque was not built by Yıldırım Bayezid, as mentioned by the Ottoman geographers and by local tradition, but by sultan Murad

In the part of Thrace which today belongs to Turkey the only structures from the 14th century are to be found in Gelibolu and Bolayır but the works in both places were heavily restored or reconstructed in the past in such a way that no original stone remains visible. A place where we can still find a genuine 14th century structure is Kırklareli, with its Eski Cami, built in 785 (1383/84) by Mihaloğlu Hızır Bey as far as we can trust an inscription in the porch which mentions a repair in the early 19th century, and the above mentioned name and date⁵. The building, a single-domed mosque, is certainly very old. The other places of Turkish Thrace have no more 14th century buildings. Hafza, Babaeski, Lüleburgaz, Tekirdağ, İpsala and İnceik received their great buildings and civic centres in the 16th century. Silivri and Çatalca remained in Byzantine hands until the conquest of Constantinople. Çorlu was until 1453 a frontier post, upon which not much money was spent, Uzunköprü was not founded before 1435 and Vize and the Black Sea coast also remained Byzantine until 1422⁶.

In Bulgarian Thrace most Ottoman buildings were destroyed during the last hundred years. A building there that can possibly be assigned to the 14th century is the İmaret Camii of İhtiman between Sofia and Plovdiv (Filibe), whose founder appears to be Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey, who fell in the Battle of Ankara against Timur

Hüdavendigâr between 1361 and 1375. His chief argument is that the Ottomans could not have done without a mosque from the year of the conquest (assumed as 1361) and the year 1399, when the Yıldırım Camii is allegedly built. Doing so he wholly overlooks the statement by the local historian of Edirne, Hibri Efendi (first half 17th century) and the very rich article of Semavi Eyice (Edirne'de Bizans devrine ait anıtlar, in : Edirne'nin 600. Fethi etc. p. 64-76) from which we can see that the time of the conquest the largest churches of old Hadrianopolis were transformed into mosques, one later known «Kilise Camii» and another also transformed into mosque which later became known as «Halebi Medresesi» because of the medrese added to the old building by Murad II. With this state of affairs the whole theory of Kuran falls.

5 For this mosque and its inscription see : Mehmet Tuncel, Babaeski, Kırklareli ve Tekirdağ Camileri, Ankara, 1974, p. 23-25; and : Özcan Mert, Kırklareli Kitâbeleri, in : İst. Ün Edeb. Fak. Tarih Dergisi, XXV, 1971.

6 For the problems concerning Vize as Byzantine frontier town see : Machiel Kiel, A Note on the History of the Frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in the 15th century, in : Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 66, München, 1973, p. 352.

(1402). His mosque, originally a Zaviye, must have been built in the last decades of the 14th century and really looks like that⁷. A building from the same founder, which has long been overlooked is a very curious hamam, now badly ruined, and situated a hundred metres to the west of the mosque/zaviye. The Eski Cami of Haskovo (Hasköy) is reportedly the oldest Ottoman building of Bulgaria but is in fact a reconstruction in the 18th century, as is its so-called 14th century inscription. The two other places in Bulgarian Thrace, where very old Ottoman buildings are still preserved, are Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra) and Yambol⁸. Both were restored recently by the Bulgarian Institute for Monuments of Culture and now in an excellent state of preservation. One is the Eski Cami, or Hamza Bey Camii in Stara Zagora, built, according to its well preserved Arabic inscription, in 811 (1408/09). The Eski Cami of Yambol is anepigraph. The restoration of the 1970's made clear that it was the product of two major building campaigns of which the first one could be from the last decades of the 14th century. We hope to discuss this building on another occasion.

It is in Greek Thrace, the least known province of Ottoman architecture of the southern Balkans, that we still find a series of Ottoman buildings from the very first period. For the most part their authentic 14th century building substance is still preserved. In a recent study I published the bath of Timurtaşpaşazâde Oruç Pasha built in 1398. In these few pages I will describe three other works of the early period. On two of them, the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos and the Cami of Gümülcine/Komotini I published some remarks

7 For this building see the detailed study of Semavi Eyice, Sofya Yakınında İhtiman'da Gaazi Mihaloglu Mahmud Bey İmâret-Camii, in : Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmûası, yıl 4, Nisan 1975, Sayı 2, p. 49-61.

8 For these two buildings see : M. Kiel, Some Early Ottoman monuments in Bulgarian Thrace, Stara Zagora, Jambol and Nova Zagora, in : Belleten Türk Tarihi Kurumu, XXXVIII, sayı 152, Ankara, 1974, p. 635-656. The mentioned restorations were still going on in 1981. Compare also the notes of Ayverdi (Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, II, İstanbul, 1972, p. 575-577 for the state of repair of the mosque prior to the restoration. (Ayverdi's four great volumes are further cited as : «Ayverdi I» etc.)

a decade ago^{8a}. The third building, a large and monumental khan, has remained wholly unknown until now.

It is generally accepted that Gümülcine was captured by the Ottoman forces under Ghazi Evrenos Bey in 1361⁹, who made his residence there, being the governor of a march (uc) facing Serbian controlled Macedonia. Evrenos resided in Gümülcine until 1383, when Macedonia was conquered and the seat of his march was moved to Serres, the key fortress of that province. In the last decade of the 14th century Ghazi Evrenos moved his seat again. This time to Yenice-i Vardar, further west and closer to the chief field of action at that time.

The Ottoman chroniclers, Anonymus-Giese and Aşıkpaşazâde, place the years in which Ghazi Evrenos resided in Gümülcine between 1371 (the decisive Battle on the Maritsa) and 1383 (capture of Serres). The historian Gelibolulu 'Alî, who wrote during the last decades of the 16th century, but using older sources, noted that Ghazi Evrenos, when he transferred his seat to Serres, turned the houses he possessed in Gümülcine into vaqf property for the «İmaret» he had constructed there. Idris Bitlisli, writing at the beginning of the 16th century, noted that Ghazi Evrenos erected a «tekke intended for the travellers» in Gümülcine and another in Yenice. Hoca Sa'deddin and the geographer Mehmed 'Aşık, both writing towards the end of the 16th century, also mention the buildings of Ghazi Evrenos in Gümülcine and in Yenice Vardar¹⁰. The learned Hoca was basically a com-

8a Cf. M. Kiel, Two little known monuments of early and classical Ottoman architecture in Greek Thrace, in : *Balkan Studies* 22,1, Thessaloniki, 1981, p. 127-146; and : M. Kiel, Historical and architectural description of the Turkish monuments of Komotini and Serres, in : *Balkan Studies*, 12 1, Thessaloniki, 1971, p. 415-462.

9 For Ottoman and Greek accounts on the date of the conquest of Gümülcine see : M. Kiel, article «Gümüldjine» in *Encycl. of Islam*, 2, Supplement, p. 329-331.

10 Friedrich Giese, *Die Altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 32, and 35; Aşıkpaşazâde in German translation of Richard F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz, Wien, Köln, 1959, p. 85 and 92/93; Muşafâ 'Alî, *Küh'n'l-Ahbâr*, printed edition, Istanbul, 1277, V, p. 75. The work of Idris Bitlisi I could only use the excellent Serbo-Croat translation of Salih Trako in *Prilozi*, XXI, Sarajevo, 1971, p. 167. Mehmed 'Aşık, *Menâzır'l-'Avâlim*,

piler assembling the information from numerous older sources but Mehmed 'Aşık was a widely travelled man, who carefully distinguished between the information from older sources and that which he saw himself. In conclusion we may say that we can be very sure about the attribution of the two very old Ottoman buildings in Gümülcine to Ghazi Evrenos. Besides that the various accounts allow us to date both buildings with a great amount of certainty between 1371 and 1383. The buildings were needed in these years. After 1383 the attention of Evrenos was directed to Serres and then to Yenice Vardar. Before 1371 the Ottoman hold on Thrace was very insecure. In such circumstances few people would risk much money on buildings.

Pre-Ottoman Gümülcine was a small fortified settlement. The greater part of the walls remain preserved to the present time, in the very centre of town. This Byzantine «Koumoutsinas¹¹» measures 125 x 140 metres, thus just over one and a half hectare. The archeologist of the mediaeval period have worked out the formula of 300 inhabitants per hectare in a normally built up town and 500 inhabitants for a very densely inhabited place with multi-story houses along very narrow streets¹². If we regard Byzantine Koumoutsinas as a town of the average kind and if we remember that the first half of the 14th century was particularly ruinous for Byzance and especially for Thrace we may perhaps be allowed to place the number of its inhabitants at 300 to 400.

manuscript Halet Efendi, No 616, II, p. 20v; Hoca Sa'deddin, Tacit't-Tevârih, edition Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, vol. I, Istanbul, 1974, p. 118.

11 In this form the name is given by the Byzantine historian Kantakusinos. The form «Gümülcine» appears to be from the pre-Ottoman period. It appears in the Destan of Ümür Pasha (edition I. Mélikov) p. 101 and 124, relating the exploits of Ümür Aydınoğlu in Thrace in 745 (1344).

12 J.B. Russell, Late Ancient and Mediaeval Population, Philadelphia (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society), 1958, maintains that the population density of an ancient city was never above 200 people to the hectare. See also: C. Clark, Urban Population Densities, in: Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A, 114, 4, 1951, p. 490-496. André Raymond, The Ottoman conquest and the Development of the great Arab towns, in: International Journal of Turkish Studies, Vol I, No 1, Madison, Wisconsin, 1980, p. 84-101, calculated 600 people to the hectare for the most densely inhabited Arab towns of the 16th-18th century.

The circumstances of the Ottoman conquest of Gümülcine are not known. We have to reconstruct them. The Eski Cami and the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos were built a hundred metres to the east of the castle walls, outside it. It appears that a sizeable number of the original Christian inhabitants of the town survived the conquest. The Tapu Defter No 70 from 925 (1519) preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul (p. 23) mentions 42 households of Christians in the town and six unmarried Christians as well as 9 widows. This would give a total of 250 Christian inhabitants. These Christians lived inside the old castle walls and possessed a church. This is mentioned by the French traveller Pierre Belon du Mans, who visited Gümülcine shortly before the year 1555¹³. Gümülcine was a Muslim-Turkish town. The 1519 Defter is very clear about that, mentioning the Muslim population as 393 households and 197 unmarried male Muslims, altogether perhaps 2.200 people. These people must have been the descendants of the Turkish settlers from Anatolia who resettled the empty towns and villages of Thrace immediately after the conquest and most certainly there were a number of converts to Islam among them¹⁴.

The fact that Christians remained living in the walled town, possessing at least one church¹⁵ (still preserved in an altered state after various repairs) and Muslims basically lived outside the town, around some prominent buildings they had erected themselves, strongly suggests that the town had capitulated more or less voluntarily to Evrenos Bey. If the town had been taken with force the laws of warfare then valid, allowed the vanquished inhabitants

13 Pierre Belon du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularités et choses*, etc. Paris, 1555, chapter IX.

14 This is a general remark based on work in the Ottoman defters concerning a large number of towns in Ottoman Europe. The defters give the patronyms after the names of the heads of the registered households. In cases of converts to Islam a symbol is used which stands for «ben 'Abdallah» (son of the Servant of God), which was a metaphor for non-Muslim. In most of the registers we went through these sons of 'Abdullah counted 10 to 20 percent of the whole population. Seldom more.

15 The Ottoman administrative Yearbook «Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Edirne» from 1310 (1892/93), which is a rich source in many respects, mentions (p. 434) two Greek Churches in Gümülcine, dating from olden times.

to be sold as slaves, their churches confiscated and turned into mosques and the walls of the town demolished. This all suggests that Ghazi Evrenos had made a fresh start when he transformed the old walled mini-town into a Muslim Turkish urban centre. His buildings included the mentioned mosque and imaret, both still extant, but also a hamam, of which the last traces were removed in 1970, at the time of the dictatorship of Papadopoulos, (with help of dynamite). Until 1923 an inscription in Arabic, dating from the 14th century and giving the name of Ghazi Evrenos, was still to be seen at the entrance of this bath. In the same year it was smashed by the new masters of the town. This hamam is also referred to in the 1519 Icmal register mentioned above (p. 23) as belonging to the Vakf property of Ghazi Evrenos. A caravanserai in Gümülcine also belonged to this Vakf, as well as the revenue from the village of Helvayı in the Gümülcine district and some çiftliks and other landed property. The whole of this property yielded a revenue for the Vakf of 55.902 akçe, which made it a rich and powerful foundation for the provincial affairs. There was sufficient revenue to pay a substantial staff and spend a considerable amount on the distribution of food to the traveller and the poor. Let us now describe the two preserved buildings.

Eski Cami.

The Eski Cami of Gümülcine, situated, in the very centre of town, in the old Çarşı, at the corner of what is today the Konstantinos Palaiologus Street and the Filiki Etaireia Street, is composed of two clearly distinguishable parts. The first part, certainly the original mosque of Ghazi Evrenos, is a robust square of 13.08 metres which encloses an inner space of 10.20 by 10.20 metres. This square is covered by a relatively low and squat dome resting on a series of simple and unadorned «Turkish Triangles». The four walls are extremely thick and in accordance with the relatively primitive, low and ponderous character of the structure. The inner space of this domed hall is far removed from the lofty elegance of 16th century Ottoman art. The system of transition between dome and square is almost identical with that of the Eski Cami, or Hızır Bey Camii of Kırklareli, from 1383/84 and some examples of the same type

of building as preserved in western Anatolia (Asılhan Bey Camii in Kemallı near Ezine, from 784 (1382/83), which is slightly bigger than the Gümülcine mosque, and Murad I's mosque in Behram Kale (Assos, to be dated in the 1370's or 1380's)¹⁶. No original windows have been preserved at the Gümülcine mosque. All have been widened during the reconstruction the building underwent in the mid 19th century. The original masonry is also invisible, covered as it is by a thick coat of plaster. A very ancient feature is the covering of the dome on the outside. This is effected by very large and rather flat tiles, which are unusually thick. This covering is of the same kind and quality as that of the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos, nearby, and we will not be very far wrong in attributing it to the original construction¹⁷.

The original façade of the building, including the open portico in front of it and the inscription which must have been placed above the entrance gate, all disappeared when the building was enlarged and repaired. According to the Sâlnâme of the Edirne Vilâyeti of 1310 (1892/93) (p. 417). These repairs took place in 1270 (1853/54). The Sâlnâme also noted that there was a certain tradition (rivayet) that this mosque was once a church and that this was proved by the presence of a column on which some inscriptions were carved in an old and unknown language. It is of course very well possible that during the construction of the mosque spoils of ancient buildings were used. This was common practice in the Middle Ages. The old part of the present mosque, however, is without doubt early Ottoman and not Byzantine. The proportions of the inner space and especially the Turkish Triangles exclude this categorically. Moreover, there were hosts of local legends that this or that mosque was originally a church. This is a folkloristic «topoi» and is true only in a very few cases¹⁸. And it is highly unlikely that there would have been a

16 For the Asılhan Camii see : Ayverdi I, p. 337-342. For Behram Kale, Ayverdi I, p. 224-229; and Kuran, The Mosque, p. 38/39.

17 Evliya Çelebi, Seyâhatnâme, VIII, p. 88, called this mosque «without lead» (kırşunsuz).

18 Legends concerning mosques that had been churches before the Ottoman, or Turkish conquest, existed everywhere in the Balkans and in Anatolia and are often groundless. Archaeological research has proved that this was indeed the case, but in a very limited number. Often it was propaganda of the

church relatively far outside the walls of Byzantine Gümülcine in the late Byzantine period in which insecurity was paramount.

The 1853 restoration is not the first one. Evliya Çelebi¹⁹, who visited Gümülcine in the month of Ramazan of 1078 (beginning of 1668) saw an inscription above the main entrance of the mosque which mentioned that it had been repaired after having damaged during a storm. Alas, he seems to have copied the text rather carelessly and the chronogram, which can be deduced from the various manuscripts of his work is not reliable (in the form suggested) by the editors of the *Seyâhatnâme* it would yield 1017 (1608/09). It is at least clear that the original inscription of Ghazi Evrenos was then already lost. Evliya did not note that the mosque was a work of Ghazi Evrenos but does attribute a number of other works to this famous man. The Ottoman chroniclers also leave the mosque unmentioned. Perhaps because it is but a modest building if compared with the magnificent Imaret next to it. Moreover, it is most probable that the Ghazi initially founded it as a mescid and not as a full Friday Mosque. It must have been upgraded somewhere in the 16th century, which was common practice then. To attribute the building to someone else would make little sense. In Evliya's time it was already the chief mosque of the town, the oldest and much frequented by the true believers. Moreover, the other two recorded buildings of Evrenos Bey stood, and still stand in its close vicinity. The caravanserai mentioned in the 1519 defter must have disappeared long ago.

During the repairs of 1853 the mosque received its present form. At that time the need for more room for Islamic prayer in a town which was then quickly expanding²⁰, caused the restorers to enlarge the mosque in such a manner that the original space was more than doubled. They flanked the old building, which they preserved as a

Christians. W.F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, London, 1929, wrote an interesting study on the backgrounds of this phenomenon.

19 *Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, p. 85-96.

20 The quick expansion of the town in the 19th century is mentioned in the *Sâlnâme* of Edirne, of 1892/93, p. 417. It is still to be seen on the houses of the town, many of them dating from the 19th century and neatly placed along straight streets which were then newly laid out.

token of piety, with a hall of 4 metres wide and ending with an additional mihrab. They removed the old porch of the mosque and broke away a large section of the old front wall. In front of the old building they erected a spacious wood covered hall of 18 metres wide and 14 metres deep. This hall is divided into three naves by two rows of three slender supports running in the direction of the kibla. The hall has a flat ceiling but the section just in front of the old entrance has been given a wooden dome, a reminder of the dome that once must have covered the central section of the porch, as still to be seen in the previously mentioned mosques in Kemallı and Behram Kale. The Eski Cami of Kırklareli has lost its original porch.

The minaret of the Eski Cami of Gümülcine is a particularly high work with two balconies. It is not the original one and not even Ottoman but dates from the time immediately after the old empire had lost the Balkans, the time of the shortlived «Islamic Republic of Gümülcine», which existed between the Second Balkan War and World War I, in 1913/14²¹. The old minaret was destroyed, presumably during the Bulgarian occupation of 1912, and rebuilt at the expense of a local notable, «Minareci» Ismail Efendi. It got its two balconies - usually an imperial prerogative - to emphasise the independent character of this state.

Today the Eski Cami of Gümülcine is still in a perfect state of repair. It is maintained by the Islamic community of the town and is in daily use as a house of prayer, as it has been for over 600 years.

Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey.

Of the same date, but architecturally much more important, and despite modern mutilations, structurally well preserved and sound, is the so-called Imaret Camii, or Ghazi Evrenos Imareti. It is situated less than 50 metres to the west of the Old Mosque but is enveloped by shops of recent date, while only its lofty domes are visible from afar. The building is one of the very oldest Ottoman works in the Balkans, perhaps the oldest and architecturally of great importance

21 See : Kemal Şevket Batıbey, *Batı Trakya Türk Devleti (1919-1920)*, İstanbul 1979; and Abdurrahim Dede, *Balkanlar'da Türk İstiklâl Hareketleri (Türk Dünyası Yayınları)* İstanbul, 1978.

although this seems not to be realised sufficiently in Greece. Moreover, there are less problems with the attribution of the work to the famous old warlord than there were the Eski Cami. Almost every chronicler mentions it, as do the geographers Mehmed Aşık, Evliya, Katib Çelebi and Badi Efendi²².

The Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos has not survived in an unaltered state. It must have survived the ages very well because those parts still visible on the outside appear to be untouched by any basic repairs. However, in 1923, after Western Thrace had been allotted to Greece, it was confiscated by the town council and transformed into an electric power station for the town. As such it served until the 1970's when it was decided to knock it down and build a fine new power station outside the town. The demolition was luckily prevented by the Greek Archeological Service. In 1972/73 the old machinery was removed and the building was cleaned. Since then it has remained an empty shell, waiting for a better future.

When the building was transformed into a power station one of the inner walls was removed and the structure became enveloped in ugly machinery halls of concrete and plate iron. The northern eastern side of the building became invisible. The rear wall remained basically free and the rubbish heaps of the last decades were cleared out in 1973. At the southern side the building borders immediately on a row of shops. Only the three domes of the Imaret and the upper parts of the walls rise above the surrounding halls and shops. This situation makes a close investigation of the building rather difficult and is perhaps the reason that it has been overlooked, literally and figuratively by the few explorers of Ottoman art in the Balkans who visit the town nowadays

The building as we see it today, presents itself as a typical example of the T-plan mosque, Bursa style mosque, or as Eyice suggested with good reason: a Zaviye-Mosque²³. We see a central domed

22 See note 10. For Katib Çelebi's work I used Hammer's German translation: Mustafa ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa, Rumeli und Bosna, Wien, 1812, p. 69. Bâdi Efendi's work, Riyaz-ı Belde-i Edirne, is preserved as manuscript in the Bayezid Umumi Kütüphanesi, Yazmaları No. 10891-10393, vol III, p. 128.

23 The «classic» about this subject still remains his: İlk Osmanlı devrinin dini-içtimai bir müessesesi Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler, in: İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 23, Ekim 1962 - Şubat 1963 (İstanbul), p. 3-80.

section, 10.74 metres long and 7.44 metres wide and covered by a dome and a barrel vault. The dome over the central section is the highest part of the building and is still visible from afar. It is flanked by two lateral rooms, not connected with the main hall but sealed off by walls and only to be reached by means of doors. The door in the original northern separation wall was removed when the Imaret was changed into a power station. At the same time a large hole was broken through the same wall. The original disposition, however, remains clearly visible. The wall sealing off the southern lateral space from the main central hall is entirely preserved. It has one door, placed in a frame of elegantly profilated cornices and colonnettes. The lateral room is closed, its gate walled.

The lateral rooms have a somewhat curious elongated form. They measure 7.33 x 5.65 metres each, on the inside. They are both covered by a dome over the central part. The spaces of the rectangle that remained open have been covered by heavy pointed arches which together form the square base of the dome. The transition between the square and the circle of the dome is obtained by using an elaborate system of triangular panes which distribute the weight of the dome equally over all sections of the walls. Both rectangular rooms must have been equipped with fireplaces. In spite of the damaged condition of these rooms we can still see where the original windows have been. Enough traces remain visible. In the rear and lateral walls they were in the centre but in the façade of the building they are placed excentrically, indicating that the fireplaces must have been situated in that front wall, at a little distance from the window (see plan). The inside of the rooms was plastered over with cement when the building was transformed into power station. Hence no trace of the fireplaces can be seen. I do not doubt, that we are confronted here with the guestrooms of the old Imaret, praised by the historian Bitlisli and Sa'deddin and the geographer 'Aşık.

The central domed hall must have been the communal hall of the Imaret, where the guests conversed around a pond in the middle of the room. Today the lateral rooms and the central hall have the same floor level but this must be due to later transformations. The rear end of the central hall must have been the section reserved for prayers, with a slightly higher floor level. This section is covered by a barrel vault. It measures only 6.80x3.30. It is thus no-

ticeably narrower than the central hall. Curiously enough this oratory is not orientated to Mecca with its rear wall, as is the usual method, but with one of its lateral walls in the manner resembling the Nilufer Imaret of Iznik, of which it appears to be a smaller, reduced, version²⁴.

In the interior little of the original decoration remains preserved. The walls are black and covered with a hard layer of cement. The only decorative element that remains is the intricate pattern of triangular folds supporting the three domes. Those in the central hall are richest and certainly stress the focal function of this room. This ornamental pattern is very rich and belongs to the best of its kind in the Balkans. It remains preserved almost untouched. The Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos is built of a coarse but forceful kind of cloisonné work mixed with alternating courses of large buolders and courses of brick. The bricks are very large, 44 or 45 cm long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 cm thick, a feature which indicates the great antiquity of the building.

Originally both of the lateral rooms were finished with a façade crowned by a tympanon which was covered by cornice of saw teeth. Beneath the tympanon the end of the vaults are made visible by a slightly protruding pointed arch (see photograph). Today the façade of the northern wing is missing, wrapped in the concrete of the machinery hall. The one on the south side is still intact. The oratory has a similar sort of tympanon façade, very well preserved and well visible from the outside since the rubbish was cleared out. At the spot where the upward lines of the cornice meet, slightly above the decorative arch which enlivens the plain rear wall, is a small niche in which a stone sculpture is placed, representing a female head. This must be a spoil from some sort of Classical Greek ruin. The use of such sculpture in a building as the Imaret strongly reminds us of the Seljuk practices.

The drums of the three domed sections of the building have no frieze or cornice of any kind. The roof of unusually large tiles (of the same kind as at the Eski Cami) rest immediately on the upper

24 For this building see : Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin, 1941, p. 52-59; or : Ayverdi I, p. 320-328.

end of the masonry. The old covering has been preserved almost untouched.

Another remarkable feature is the fact that the central part of the original façade of the building is not built of cloisonné but of fine-grained soft green sandstone. This façade is continued upward and partly mask the central dome. It is thus a kind of screen, higher and more monumental than the façades of the lateral rooms. It is crowned by a richly profiliated cornice of the same material, all doubtless belonging to the original building because it is structurally one unit with the other masonry. The cornice has suffered badly from the actions of the weather because the green sandstone is much softer than the brick and boulders of the cloisonné. I should add that the stone is of the same kind as that used at a number of historical buildings in the town of Keşan in Turkish Thrace and is certainly quarried locally, somewhere between both places.

It is very difficult to find out what kind of porch or portico originally stood in front of the building as it is today. Such a porch is an almost obligatory element in Ottoman buildings of this kind. One could suggest a porch of the kind as preserved at the Yakub Çelebi Zaviyesi in Iznik²⁵, built in the 1380's by the Ottoman prince of that name, who perished in the struggle for the throne after the Battle of Kossovo (May 1389). We have reconstructed it tentatively on our plan, following that scheme. However, it is very well probable that we have to imagine another kind of porch. Such as the one in front of the famous Nilufer Imaret in Iznik, built in 1388 by Murad I to honour his deceased mother Nilufer Hatun. Yet this porch is very high and if such an element had stood in front of the Gümülcine building the monumental sandstone screen we see today would make little sense. Hence we have to look for another form, lower and less monumental. Some elderly workmen from the power station remembered some sort of domed structure that once stood in front of the present building. They were not certain, alas about the exact form when we asked them about it in 1972. Yet there must have been some sort of porch because the main central hall opens directly towards the front side by a wide arch, built of finely cut and polished sandstone. Precisely on this part of the building it is impossible to

25 Otto-Dorn, Iznik, p. 60-63 : Ayverdi, I, p. 328-332.

carry out any kind of excavation or further investigation because of the vast concrete hall affixed against the old front of the Imaret and the fact that the floor is of solid concrete. Only if these ugly additions are removed, will the traces in the masonry on places where arches or walls of the porch joined the main building become visible and allow us to make definite reconstruction.

Excavation is also needed if we want to know the place where the minaret of the building once stood. Nobody seems to remember that locally.

It has often been said that the T-plan buildings were originally not mosques at all, but were buildings with a socio-religious function in which the section designed for the prayers was but a modest one. For the same reason buildings of this kind had no minaret at all. It has been suggested by some that the members of the Akhi brotherhood of early-Ottoman were housed in this kind of building but this idea is rejected vehemently by others. It is at least certain that the institution once housed in the so-called «Imaret» decayed in the classical Ottoman period. Only at that time, in the course of the 16th century, the pond in the central hall was removed, the floors were made of one level and all the space gained was used as prayer room. In many cases the walls that had separated the guestrooms from the central hall were torn down. In the beautiful «Imaret Camii» of the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv (Filibe) built in 1444 by the Beylerbey of Rumeli, Sihabuddin Pasha²⁶, the traces of the old separating walls and the deeper floor of the central section were discovered when the building was restored by the Bulgarian Institute for Monuments of Culture. In the fine old Turkish city of Skopje (Üsküb) in Yugoslav Macedonia the so-called «Alaca Imaret» built in 1438 by Ishak Bey we still find an inscription marking such a kind of transformation of the old imaret into a mosque²⁷. This took place in the year 925 (1519). Both well dated monuments do have a minaret. The older, 14th century «Imarets» did not. Perhaps we may

26 The most detailed and best illustrated description of this building is that in Ayverdi, II, p. 479-485.

27 Idem, Ayverdi, II, p. 557-563, also: H.W. Duda, *Balkantürkischen Studien*, in *Sitzungsberichte Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 226, Wien, 1949.

assume that a minaret was added to the Gümülcine building when it was definitely transformed into a mosque. What happened to its hospitable kitchen, praised so eloquently by Idris Bitlisi and Hoca Sa'adeddin (thus still in function by that time) is difficult to say. Very probably the actual cooking took place in a separate building, of which no trace remains today. We may perhaps think of a solution as is still to be seen in Edirne, at the Yıldırım İmaretı, or the İmaret of Havza near Amasya, built in 833 (1429/30), both having a separate building standing somewhat apart from the main one²⁸.

As a whole the Evrenos İmaretı of Gümülcine appears to us as a smaller and less elaborate version of the great Nilufer İmaretı in İznik. The oratory section in Gümülcine is considerably smaller and less elaborate than the İznik building but there is a striking similarity between the lateral rooms of both buildings. They are in fact wings. I know of no other examples in Ottoman architecture of such wings, placed in a position as at İznik and Gümülcine. Yet it would be false to regard the building in the Thracian town as a copy of the one in İznik because it must be a decade or more older.

Among the Muslim community of Gümülcine (about half of the total population) the wish is cherished to transform the empty building into a Museum of Folklore of the Muslim Community of Western Thrace and restore the building in its original form. The wish to restore the venerable old building is cherished also among the Greek Archeological Service and in intellectual circles in Greece but as long as the politicians determine what is done in the field of culture this plan will remain a plan for a very long time. Meanwhile the building is protected by law and cannot be torn down at random.

*Khan of Evrenos Bey in the village of Ilıca/Loutra*²⁹.

The last early Ottoman building I would like to discuss here is a large and monumental khan which still stands largely as it did 600 years ago in the hamlet of Loutra, known in the past as Ilıca. This village is situated in the plain of the Maritsa River about halfway

28 See Ayverdi, I, p. 494, and II, p. 497-503.

29 Also known as «İlcaköy» or «Fere(cik) İlcası» in Turkish and «Therma Loutra» or «Loutra Traianopoleos» in Greek usage.

between Alexandropolis (Dedeğaç) and Ferai (Ferecik), a few hundred metres to the north of the modern road to Turkey. This is the site of the Antique city of Traianopolis, which disappeared in the early Middle Ages. The modern Greek and the Turkish name for the tiny village of today is connected with the strong springs of mineral water. Ghazi Evrenos must have selected this site for the construction of a khan because of the presence of this source. In the course of time an excursion spot (*meşîregâh*) of fame developed around the springs and the khan. The Grand Vizier of Bayezid II, Koca Davud Pasha constructed two domed bath houses (*kaplıca*) over these springs, one reserved for women and one for men. Both are still standing in a ruined condition. Hadschi Chalfa (Katib Çelebi) mentions the baths and their founder and adds that the khan near the baths was a work of Evrenos Bey³⁰. More information on the group of buildings is to be found in the work of Hibri Efendi, the historian of Edirne³¹. Hibri visited the place in 1037 (1627/28). He gives basically the same information about the baths and the khan but adds that in the summer the people of Edirne went with 200 waggons to these baths. These visits seem to have continued throughout the Ottoman period. The *Sâlnâme* of the Edirne Vilâyeti of 1310 (1892/93) mentions that the baths were situated two hours travelling time from Dedeğaç and that they were visited by thousands of people, especially in the middle of May and in August. The *Sâlnâme* also mentions Davud Pasha as the builder of the two baths and Ghazi Evrenos of the khan next to them. At that time the khan was in decay and only preserved as a monument and a sight³².

It is not clear why this important group of buildings escaped the attention of the historians of art so long. Perhaps are misled by the modern Greek mis-identification of the building. The local historian Samothrakes wrote a short article on the khan in 1943³³. He

30 Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, (transl. by J. von Hammer), Wien, 1812, p. 68.

31 Hibri 'Abdurrahman Efendi, *Enis ül-Müsâmirin*, Manuscript Vienna, fol. 34r. For the author and his work see for example : M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne Hakkında Yazılmış Tarihler*, in : *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi* etc. p. 77-117.

32 *Sâlnâme*, p. 566.

33 A. Samothrakes, *Traianopolis*, in : *Thrakika*, 18, 1943, p. 177 vv.

identified the building as a Roman road station, «a station where horses could be changed.» If we bear in mind that the history of art of the Ottoman period was hardly known at the time Samothrakes wrote and the very existence of Ottoman architecture, a style with a code of aesthetics of its own and a complex historical background, is still not accepted in many Greek circles, this mis-interpretation is wholly understandable. Samothrakes' study became the basis for the actions of the Greek Archeological Service, which long ago became the owner of the building, protects it against further decay and has carried out some important works of restoration and conservation on the building. For years this «Roman Stage Post» has sheltered as a lapidarium the archaeological finds of old Traianopolis. As such it appears in tourist guides. Yet it is immediately obvious that this building is not Roman but early Ottoman.

The khan as we see it today is composed of two different sections. The first section is now partly in ruins. The eastern façade has collapsed, as has the heavy barrel vault that once covered the room. The second part of the building is the largest. It is a spacious hall measuring 10.20x25.80 metres and covered by an impressive barrel vault. This vault is strengthened by two heavy arches which divide the room in three equal sections. They rest on four engaged piers which form one structural unit with the lateral walls. The hall is almost entirely preserved, largely untouched. The masonry of the interior is left unplastered. It is a coarse kind of cloisonné or broken stone in the vertical walls and brick for the barrel vault. The engaged pillars and the supporting arches of the vault are made of fine yellowish sandstone which forms a pleasant contrast with the other colours of the building materials used. The arches spring from profiliated cushions of a form never seen in the architecture of Antiquity. This alone should have warned the archeologists that we are here confronted with a building of a different period.

The monumental hall is lit by three windows in the short lateral wall. Two large ones in an upper row and a slit window at ground level, doubtless made so narrow for the sake of safety.

The hall was once equipped with three fireplaces, one in each of the three sections of the long southern wall. In the course of time this particular wall crumbled and lost its original facing. When the

architects of the Greek Archeological Service restored the building (in the 1960's) they mistook the deep niches of the fireplaces for the fireplaces for blocked up windows and opened them. They constructed round arches of thin bricks over the newly made hollows, in a manner resembling Byzantine church windows. The greater part of the half crumbled wall received on that occasion a new facing of cloisonné, which was executed in the most exemplary manner. The upper part of the wall was left more or less as it was: decayed and a bit crumbling. This method of restoration conforms with the most modern principles: an old monument or ruin has to keep something of its character as an old building, weather beaten for many centuries. An old building should not be restored in such a manner that it looks brand new. Many architects in South-Eastern Europe, including Turkey, should learn from example of respecting the character of an old monument and at the same time protect it against further decay.

This principal was also upheld with the first room of the building. This was in ruins for a long time and was left as it was. In fact this was the room which was designed basically for the travellers. It measures 8.50x10.20 and was equipped with four fireplaces. The traces of the latter remain well visible in the ruined walls. A door in the separation wall once led to the main hall, which must have been reserved principally for the animals. Men might have used the hall on cold winter days and the three fireplaces would have been built for such occasions. The once finely profiled gate in the separation wall built of yellow limestone, is ruined now. That this wall is a part of the original design can be seen in the way the masonry is joined with the lateral walls of the building, and by the manner in which the capitals carrying the relieving arches fit into the masonry. The room once ended in the same manner as the main hall, with a short wall crowned by a tympanon and a cornice of saw teeth of brick work in the same manner as the three façades of the Evrenos Bey Imaret in Gümülçine. In this wall was a portal crowned with a slab of stone on which an arabic inscription was carved. This inscription must have been seen by the old Ottoman geographers who mentioned the khan as a work of Evrenos Bey. Samothrakes saw this inscription still in situ in the 1930's and took a photograph of it. Alas, in 1937 the façade collapsed and took the inscription with

it. In spite of the repeated efforts of Samothrakes it was not possible to retrieve the valuable epigraphical monument. In his Traianopolis study of 1943 Samothrakes wrote : A Turkish inscription of the 14 th century was chiseled by order of Evrenos Pasha. A photograph of it will be published in the next issue of (the review) *Thrakika*»³⁴. Unfortunately this was prevented by the circumstances created by the Second World War. Our own endeavours to locate the Samothrakes documentation remained fruitless. However, the combination of the Ottoman evidence and the observations of this deserv- ing local historian combined makes it sure enough that we are here confronted with a monument closely linked with the earliest part of Ottoman history on the Balkans. Perhaps a date somewhere around 1375-1385 might be suggested for this building. This makes it the oldest Ottoman khan of the Balkans and one of the earliest of its kind in general.

As a building the Evrenos Bey Khan is related to some works of early Ottoman architecture in the north western part of Anatolia. The general idea is the same as at the oldest part of the Döğër Han near Ihsaniye in the province of Afyonkarahisar, which is undated³⁵. The principal difference is the entrance, which in the Thracian building is situated in one of the short walls whereas in Döğër Han it is placed in the middle of the long side wall and is preceded by a portico. The khan of Evrenos Bey is almost identical with the Khan of Ghazi Mihal Bey in the village of Gölpazar near Bilecik³⁶ in the ancestral lands of the early Ottomans. This well preserved work is dated by an inscription, still at its place, between the years 818-821 (1415-1418) Also as to size the two buildings are similar and the Gölpazar building could just as well be regarded as a replica of the building of Ghazi Evrenos. Our type of building finds its source of inspiration in the vast covered halls of the Anatolian Seljuk khans

34 idem, p. 179.

35 For Döğër Han see : Halım Baki Kunter, *Bilinmeyen bir kervansaray tipi Döğër Han* (full text also in English), in : *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VIII, Ankara, 1969, p. 227-229; and : *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, Vol I, Ankara, 1972, p. 177-178.

36 See : Ayverdi, II, p. 170-171; or : *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, vol II, Ankara, 1977, p. 81-83.

of the 13th century such as Eshab-i Khef Khan near Elbistan, the Mama Hatun Khan in Tercan near Erzurum or the Kırkgöz Khan near Antalya. In these khans we see barrel vaulted and single-aisled halls which are larger than the cloistered courtyard of the building and can be regarded as individual units. Independently, as a building of its own we see the single-aisled barrel vaulted khans at Sarafşa near Alanya and the Ortapayam Khan between Antalya and Beyşehir. As to general proportions and relation between length and width the buildings of Ghazi Evrenos and of Gölpazar come very close to to the Ortapayam Khan and to the great hall of the Kırkgöz Khan³⁷. The relationship is evident.

The existence of a type of khan almost 40 years older than the hitherto oldest known example of this kind is of importance as a link between the Seljuk and the early Ottoman works. That the oldest kind of khans of this type are found on European soil shows how early the Ottomans were busy transplanting their emerging art to the Balkans and how much this art was connected with the great culture of the Anatolian Seljuks. In the historiography of the arts in the Balkans this point is not sufficiently realised. That buildings such as the Evrenos Bey Khan in Ilıcaköy and the remarkable Ima-ret of Gümülcine could remain unknown so long tells us how little we still know of the art of the Ottoman Balkans.

37 There is substantial literature on the Seljuk kervanserais. I cite only : Kurt Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, two vols, Berlin, 1961. For Eshab-i Khef see also : A. Tükel, *Alara Hanın Tanıtılması*, in: *Bulleten TTK*, No. 33, 1969, p. 460, plan 21.

POSTSCRIPT

The Hamam of Ihtiman, mentioned on p. 121, is now finely restored. The Imaret mosque of the same Bulgarian town is in a much worse state, the central dome collapsed a few years ago.

The Imaret of Komotini was in 1989 in the same state as it was ten years ago.

Interesting information on the town of Komotini and the foundations of Ghazi Evrenos is found in the synoptic Ottoman census and taxation register 0.89 of the Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları collection in Istanbul (Belediye Library). This incompletely preserved register, containing parts of Thrace, is dated by marginal notes containing changes in the status of certain properties. The oldest of these notes is from H. 861 (1456/57 A.D.). The register was compiled in the first years of the rule of sultan Mehmed Fatih (1451–1481), most probably shortly after the conquest of Constantinople (1453), when the administration had its hands free—perhaps 1454–55. This is just over ninety years after the conquest of Komotini by the Ottomans and only 35 years after the death of Ghazi Evrenos (who died in very old age).

According to this oldest register of Thrace yet known (p. 35) the town numbered 423 adult male Muslims and 89 adult male Christians, as well as 53 Muslim widows and 42 Christian widows, perhaps a total population of 1,800–1,900 inhabitants. The Vakf section of the same register (p. 59) mentions as property of the 'Vakf of the late Evrenos Bey' a hamam yielding 8,000 akçe per year, 45 shops, yielding 1,500 akçe rent in a term of three months (kış), a caravanseray and some gardens and orchards, besides the revenue of the village of Helvacı, which is not specified.

The '1455' register also gives a bit of information to support the theory that the Zaviye-Mosque, or T-Plan Mosque, was originally no mosque at all but the place where the members of the Akhi fraternity gathered and cared for the travellers according to the Islamic knightly ideals of the Futuwwa (generosity, hospitality, etc.). Among the inhabitants of Gümülcine in 1455 we find one person explicitly styled 'Akhi' and five others called 'ehl-i fütüvet'. The Vakf section further mentions 18 brethren of the convent of Ghazi Evrenos (Ehl-i Tekke) as well as 16 households of people connected with it. The latter doubtless were its servants; cooks, bakers, cellarmaster, cleaners, doorkeepers, etc. If we add to this information the fact that the Vakıfname of the Imaret Mosque of Ghazi Isa Bey in Skopje, from 1471, explicitly calls the head of the staff of this building an 'Akhi', we have indeed to conclude that the T-Plan buildings, of which that of Ghazi Evrenos in Gümülcine is the oldest example still standing in S.E. Europe, really were the convents of the chivalrous Akhi brotherhood, which played such an important role in the formation of Ottoman urban society.

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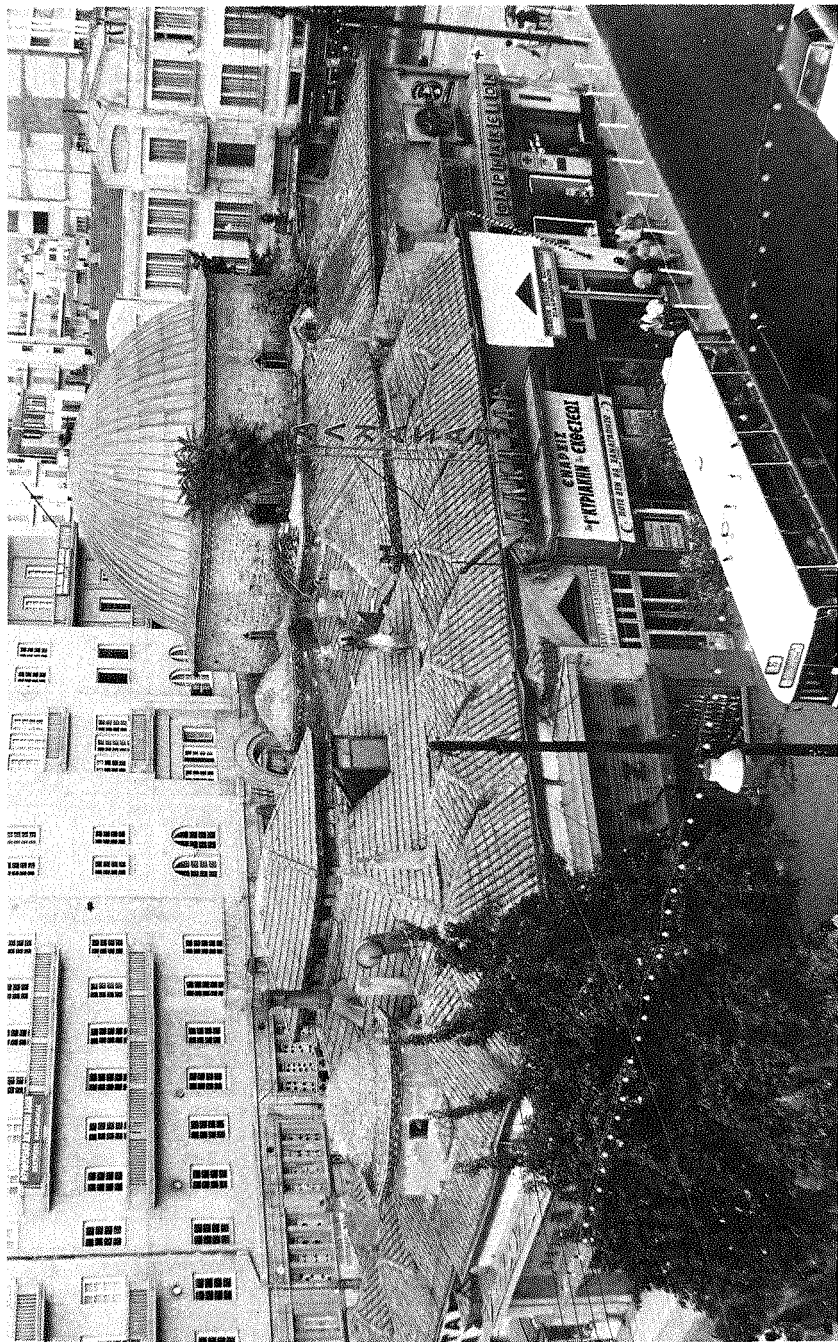


Plate I. Hamam Bey Mosque. Founded in 1467/68, last reconstructed in 1619.



Plate II. Inscription above entrance of Great Hamam of Sultan Murad II.

Hamza Bey Camii Thessaloniki
Approximate plan and partial reconstruction.

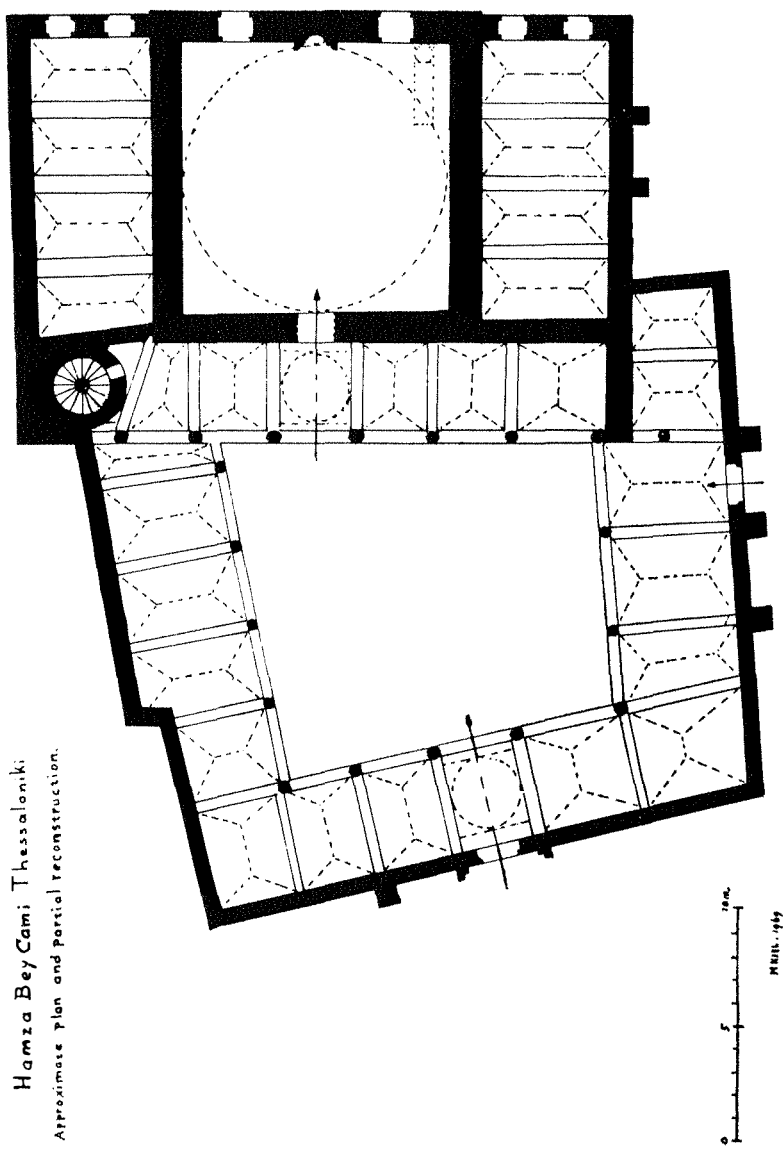


Plate III

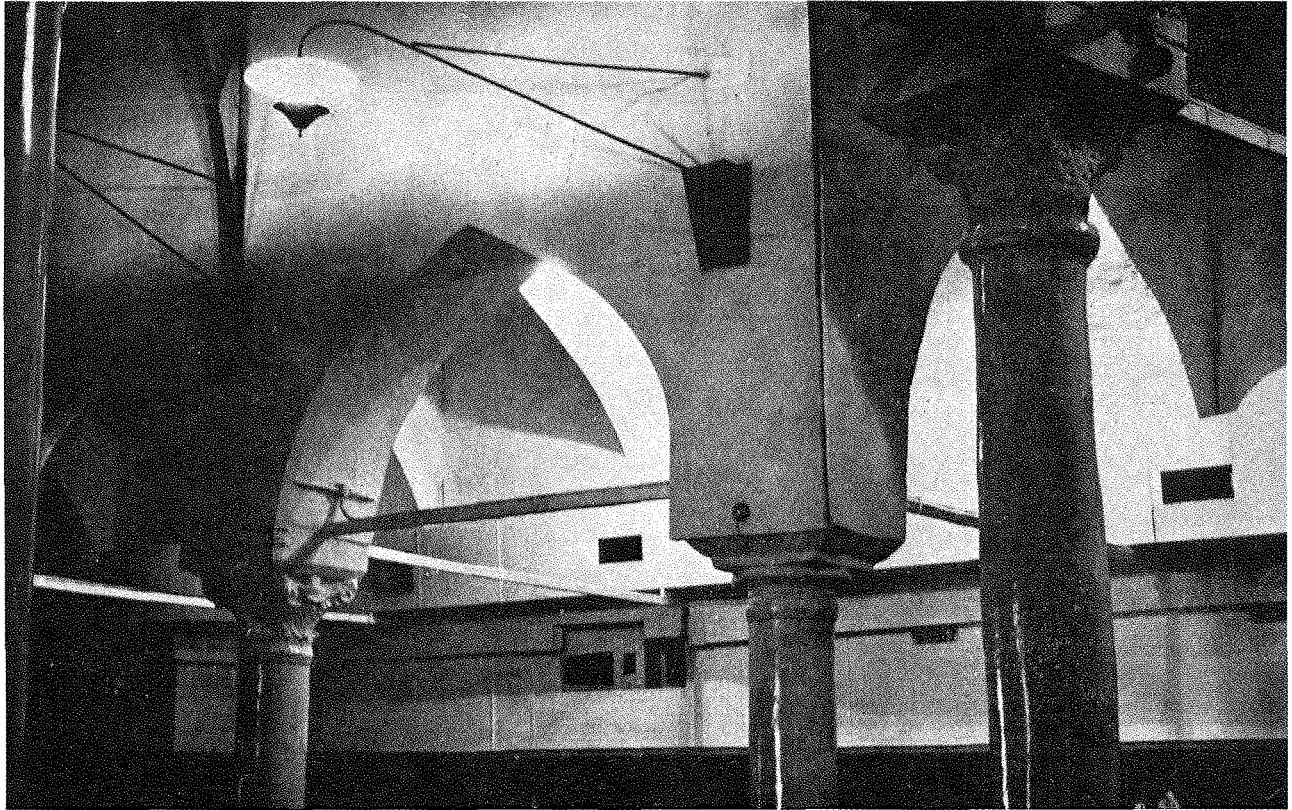
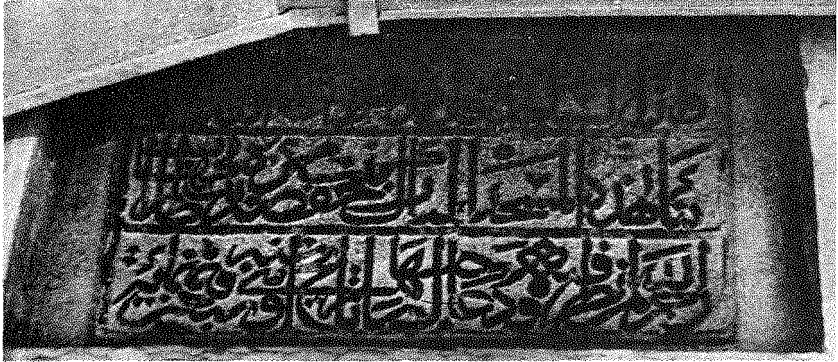
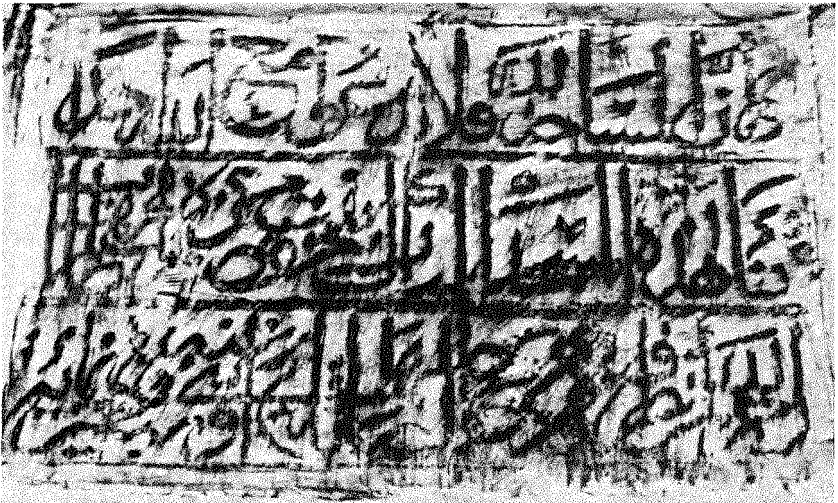


Plate IV. Hamza Bey Mosque, interior, Courtyard.

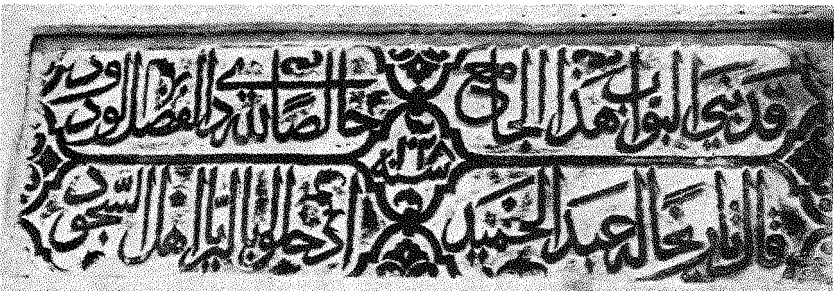
Plate V



1. Hamza Bey Mosque, oldest inscription replaced (1468).



2. Hamza Bey Mosque, oldest inscription, copy.



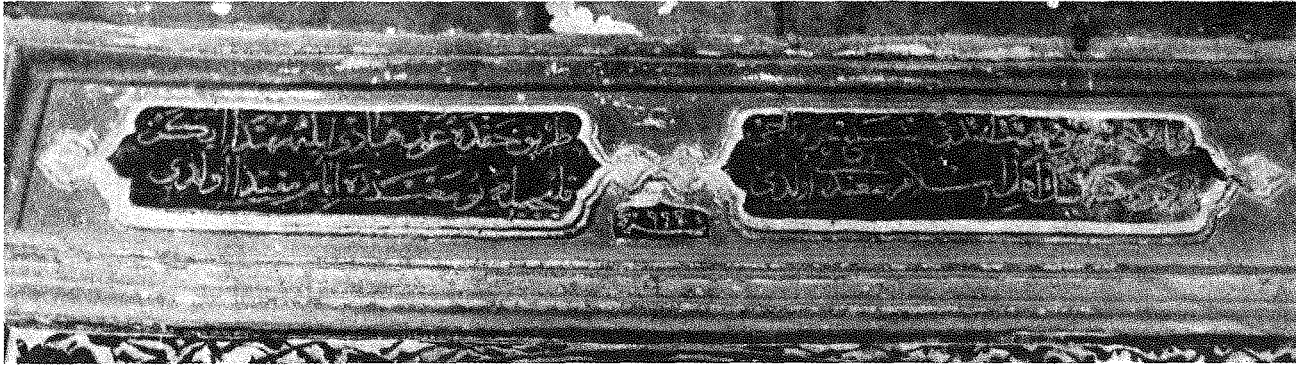
3. Hamza Bey Mosque, inscription above former main entrance (1620).



Plate VI. Mosque of Ishak Pasha, western portico .



Plate VII. Mosque of Ishak Pasha, north side, portico and side rooms.



1. *Sinan Pasha Hortaci Cami*, inscription above main entrance (1591).



2. *St. Demetrius church ex - Kasimiyye Mosque*, arabic inscription of Sultan *Bayazid II*, H. 898 = 1492/93 (now in crypt of church)



Photo. 1 — Turbe of Kudemli Baba, general view.

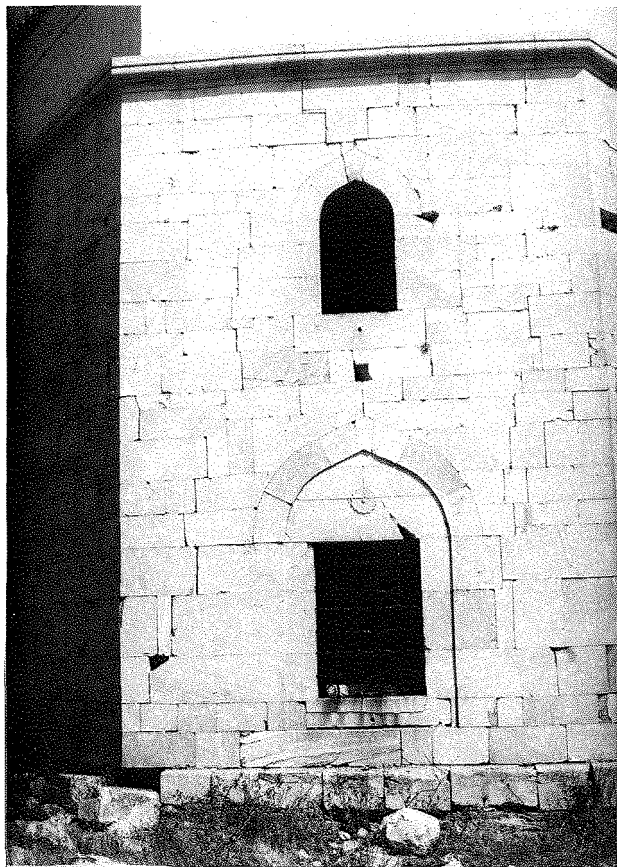


Photo 2 — Turbe, Section of the wall.



Photo 3 — Entrance of the turbe (notice the damage done by treasure hunters).

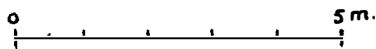
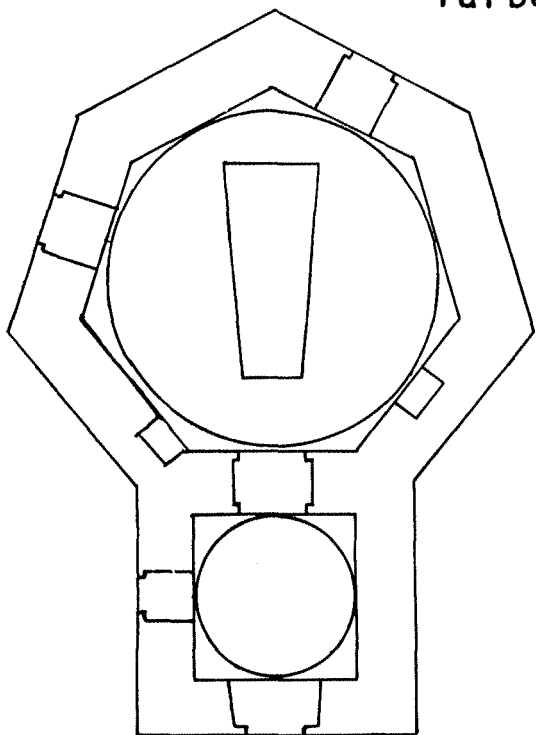


Photo 4 — Remains of the Meydanevi, (rough cloissonnée work).

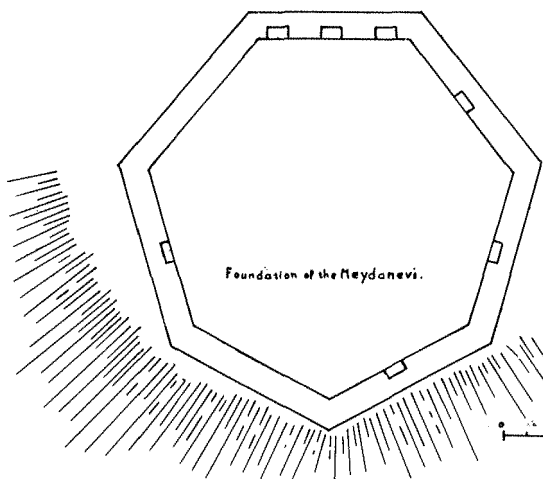
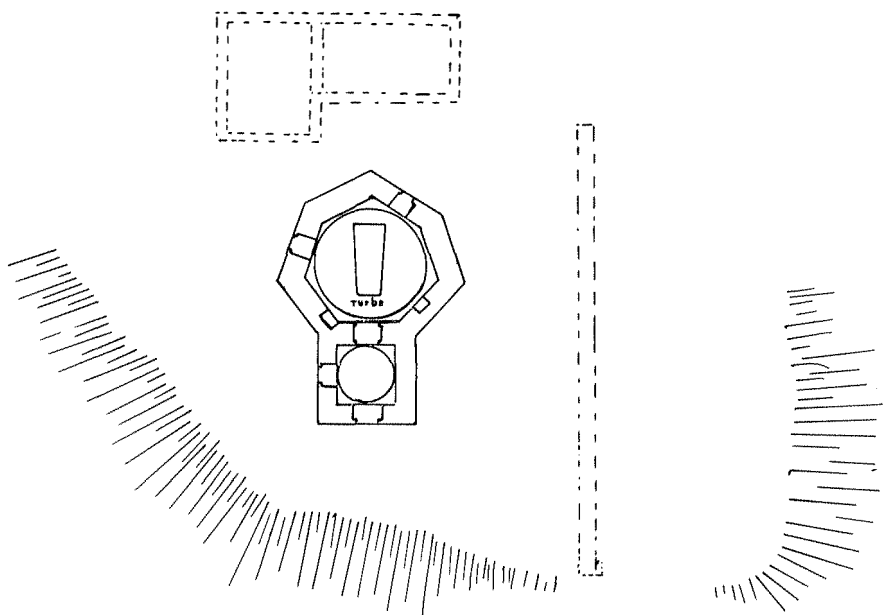


Photo 5 — Remains of the Meydanevi, seen from the entrance of the turbe.

Turbe of Kidemli Baba.



M. KIEI 1969.



Kıdemli Baba Tekkesi.
Situation Sketch. 1949.

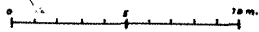




Plate 1. Komotini, the old Bazaar with Saat Kule and Yeni Cami.

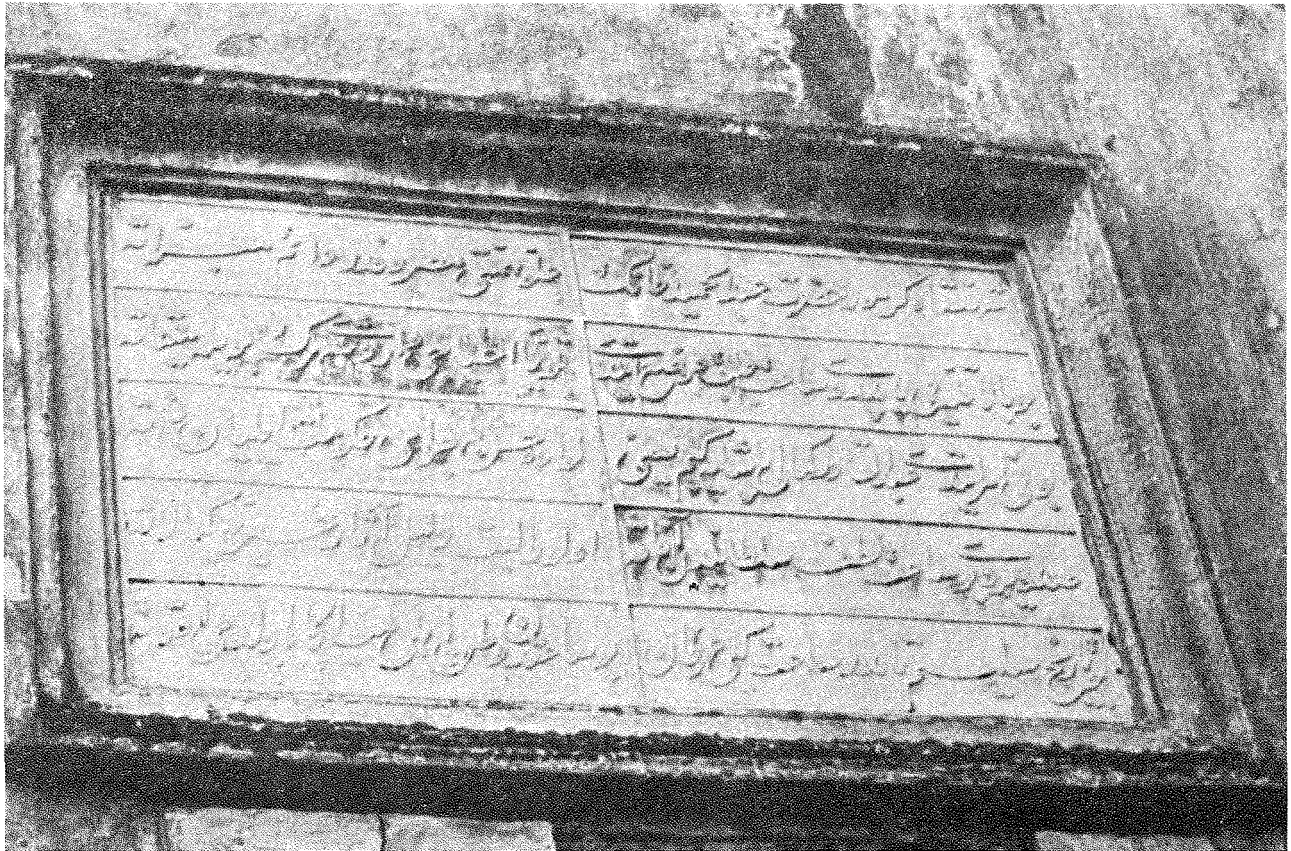
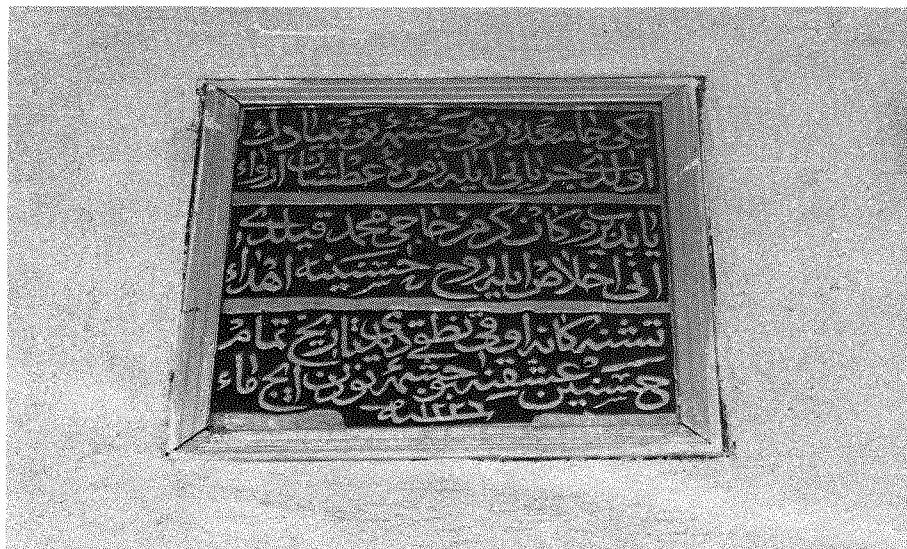


Plate II. Komotini, inscription on the Saat Kule, H. 1302 = A.D. 1884/85



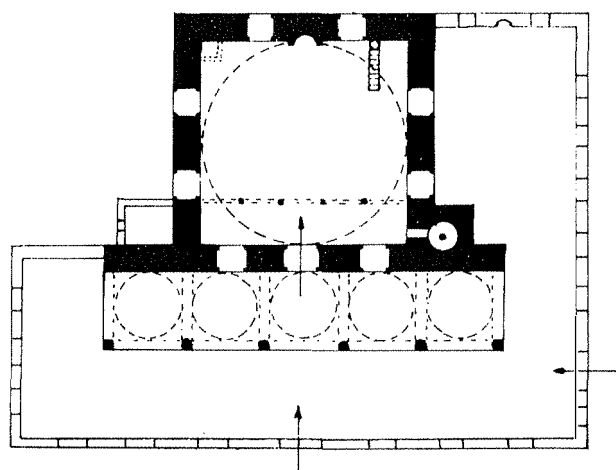
1. Komotini, courtyard of Yeni Cami, funeral inscription of Fatma Khanin of Rouschouq
H. 1195 (1781)



2. Komotini, courtyard of Yeni Cami, fountain inscription of Hadji Mehmed, H. 1226 (1811)

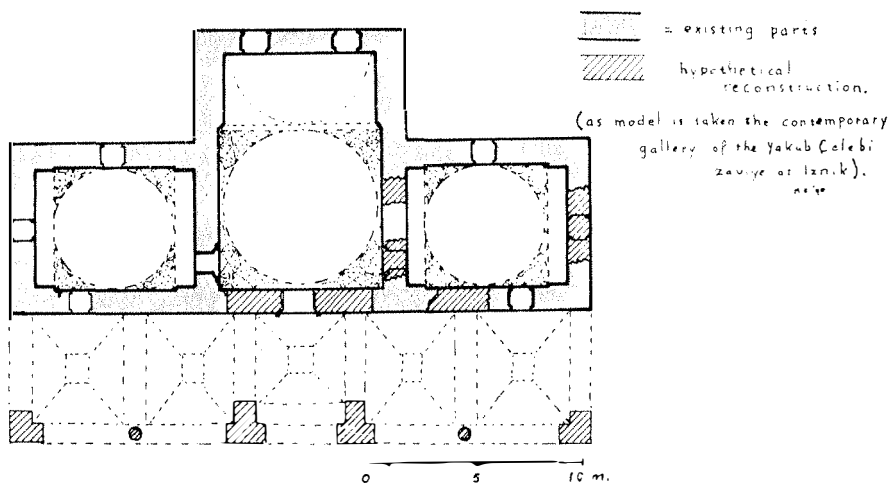
Plate IV

Komotini, Yeni Cami.



1. Komotini, Yeni Cami.

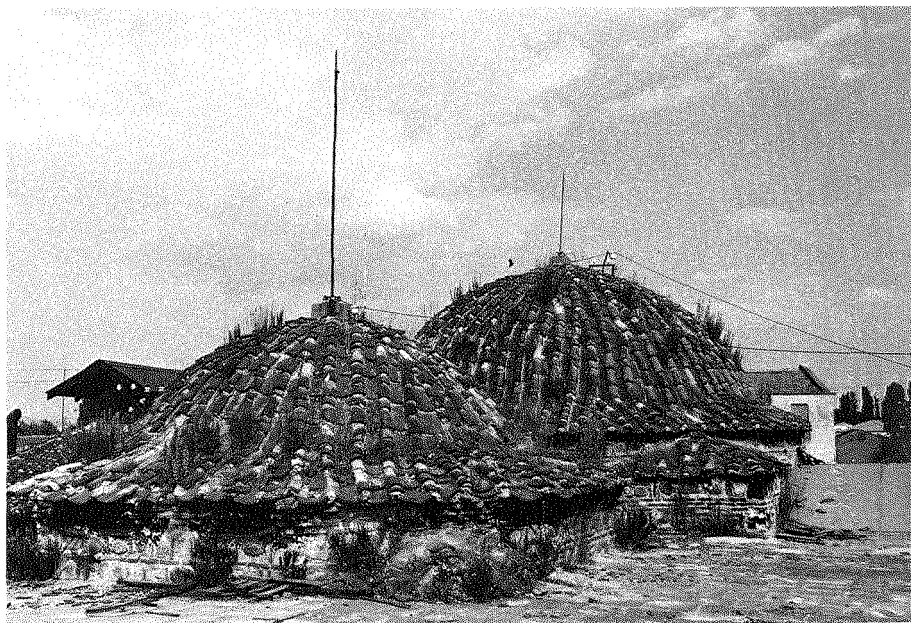
Ghazi Evrenos Imaret Komotini.



2. Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret.



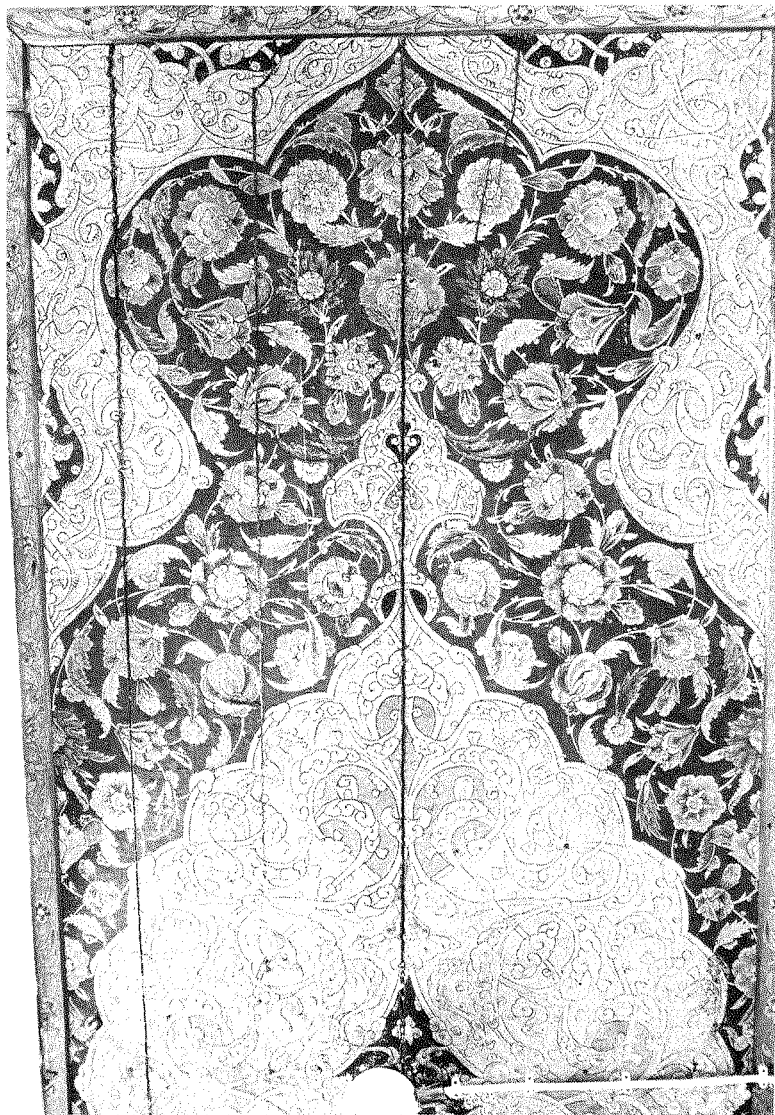
1. *Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, built-in between shops.*



2. *Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, (1362-1375) detail from the central and lateral domes.*



Plate VI. Komotini, Yeni Cami, interior view.

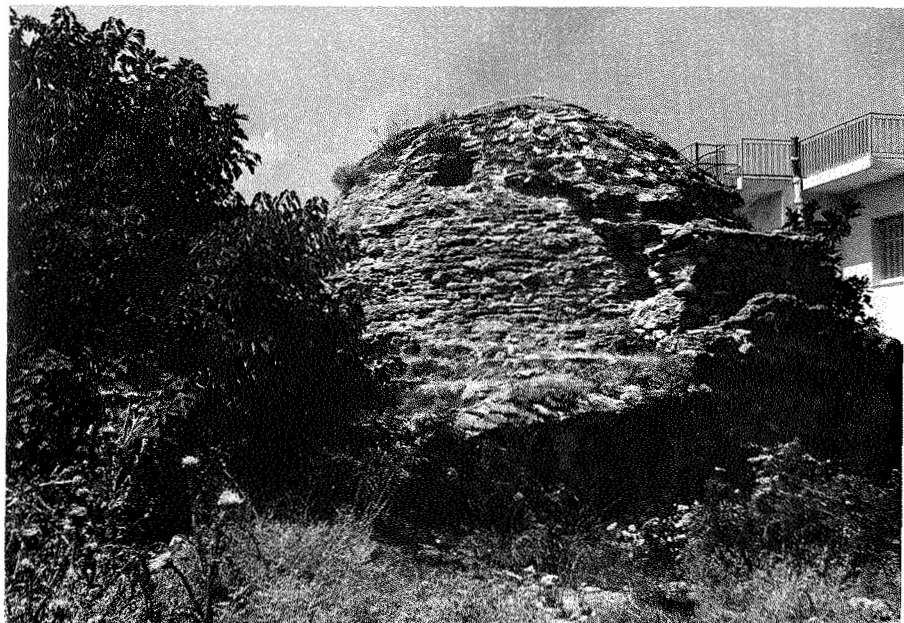


Komotini, Yeni Cami interior. Panel executed in Edirne Kâre Laka technique.

Plate VIII



1. Serres, *Bedesten of Candarhâde Ibrahim Pasha, now Archaeological Museum. The exterior shops were destroyed during the fire of 1913.*



2. Serres, *remains of the central section of a hamam. Last quarter of 15th cent.*



Plate IX. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque. Inscription over main entrance, H. 898 = A. D. 1492.

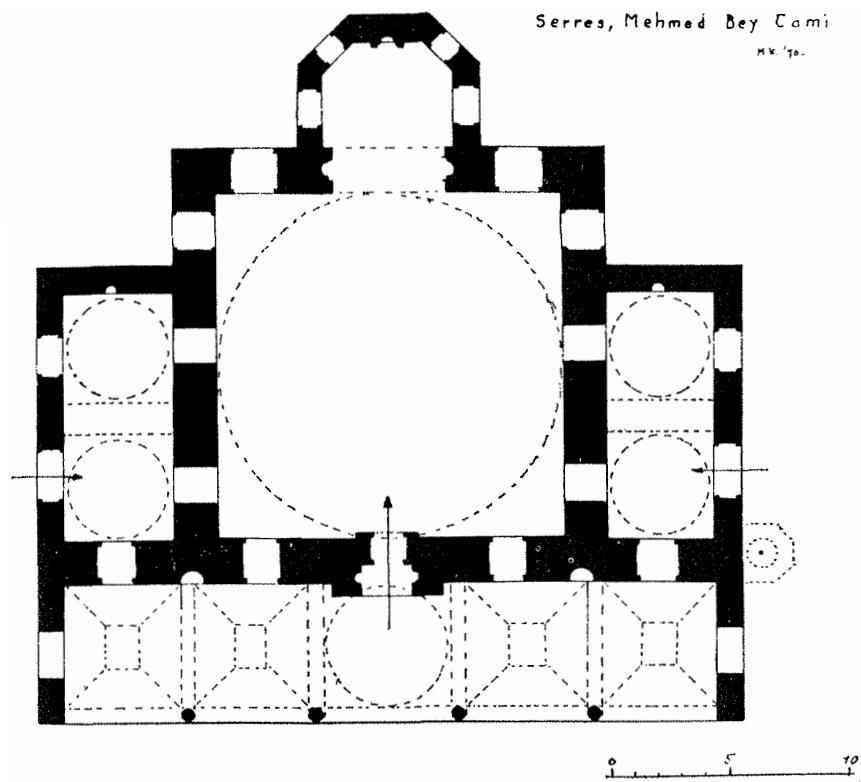
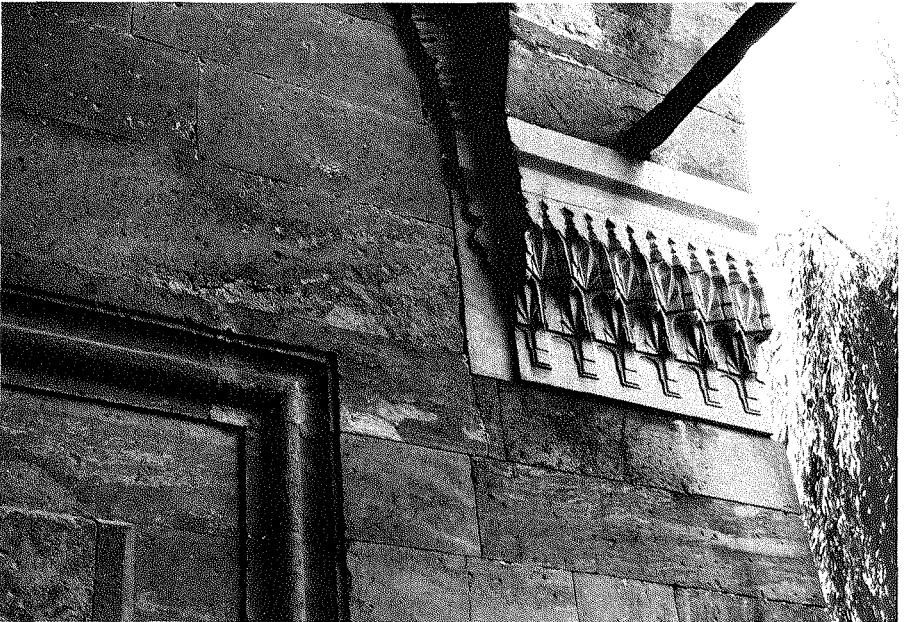


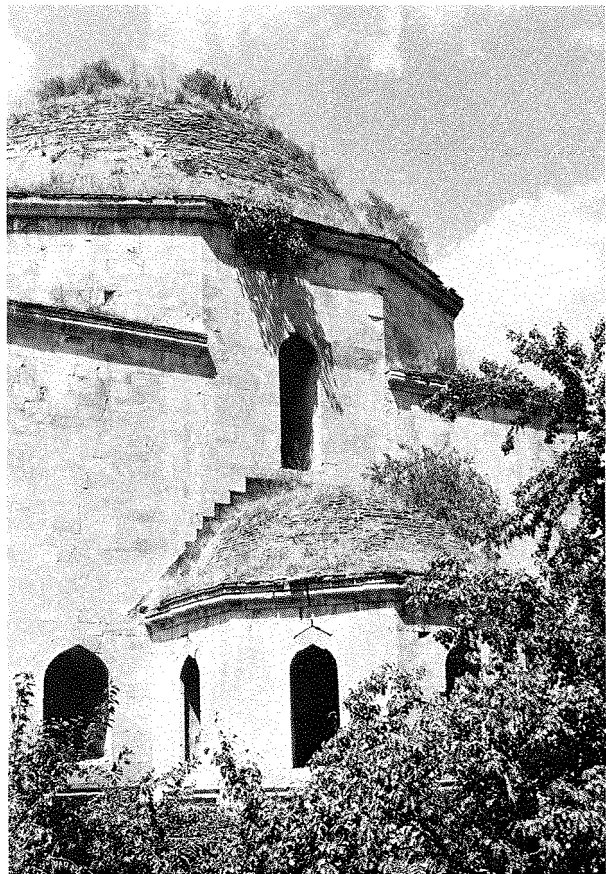
Plate X. Mehmed Bey Mosque.



1. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, (1492). The open portico has collapsed in recent years.



2. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, stone masonry and marble sculpture of the front portico.



1. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque. Rear view with mihrab niche. Notice the magnificent proportions.



2. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, looking toward the mihrab niche.

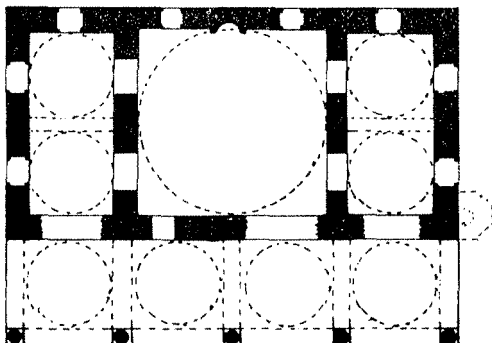


Plate XIII. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, inscription, H. 925, A.D. 1519.

Plate XIV

Serres, Mustafa Bey Cami.

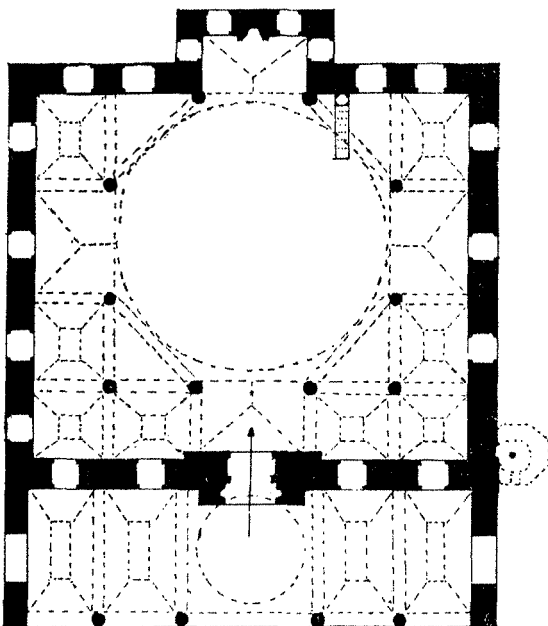
M.K. '70.



1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Cami.

Serres, Zincirli Cami

M.K. '70.



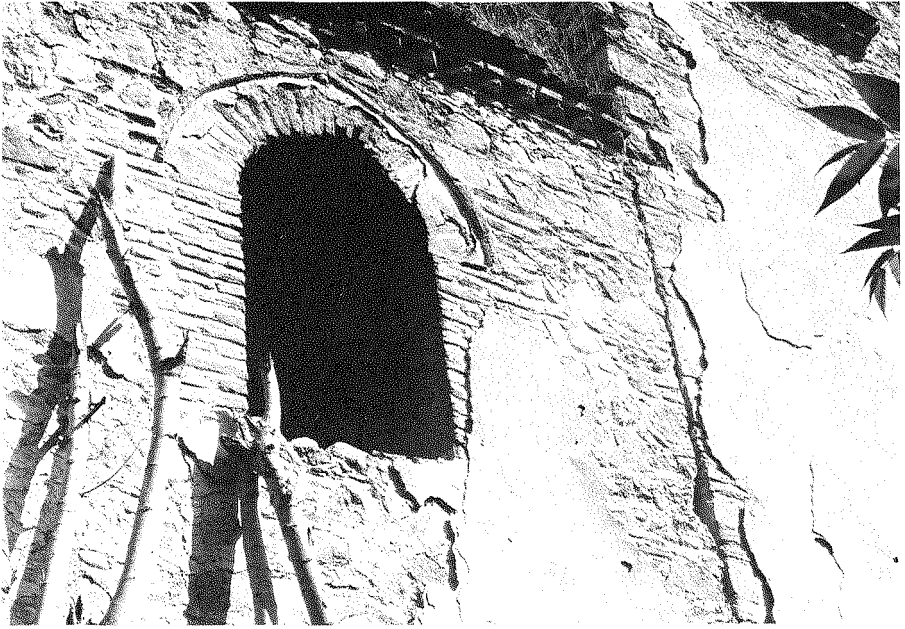
2. Serres, Zincirli Cami.



1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, 1519 viewed from the rear.



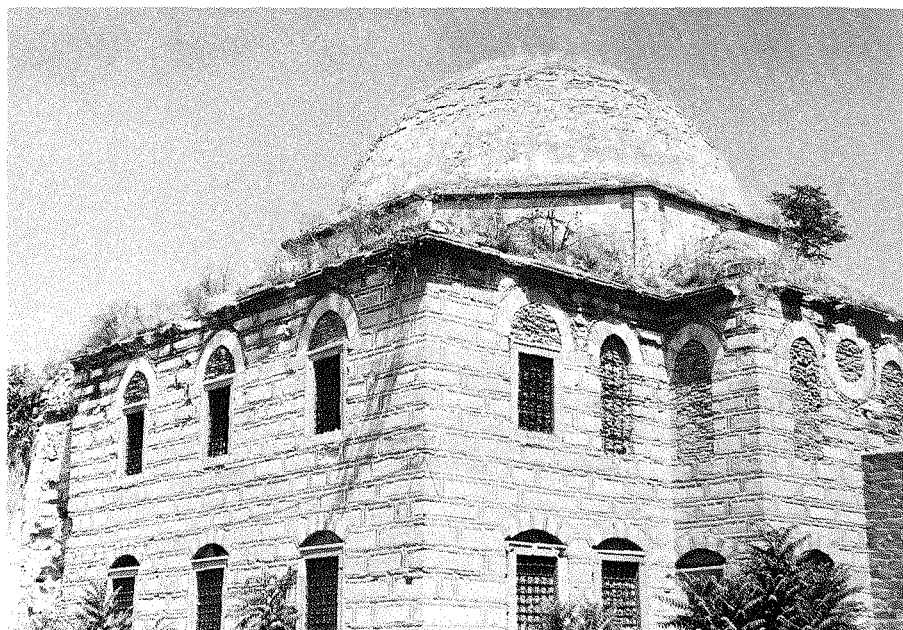
2. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, 1519 front portico with four domes and five columns.

Plate XVI

1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, masonry of rear wall. Notice the seam between the two parts of the building.



2. Serres, Mustafa Bey mosque typical Turkish capital of front portico.



1. Serres, Zincirli Mosque, last quarter of 16th century. Rear view. Note the protruding mihrab section (1970).

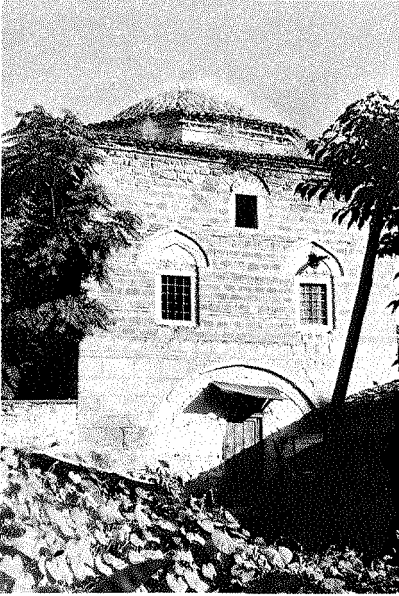


Plate XVIII

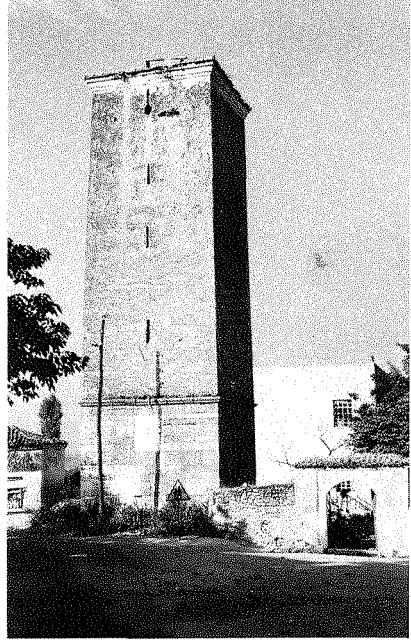
1. Serres, Zincirli Mosque, general view 1989.



Plate 1.

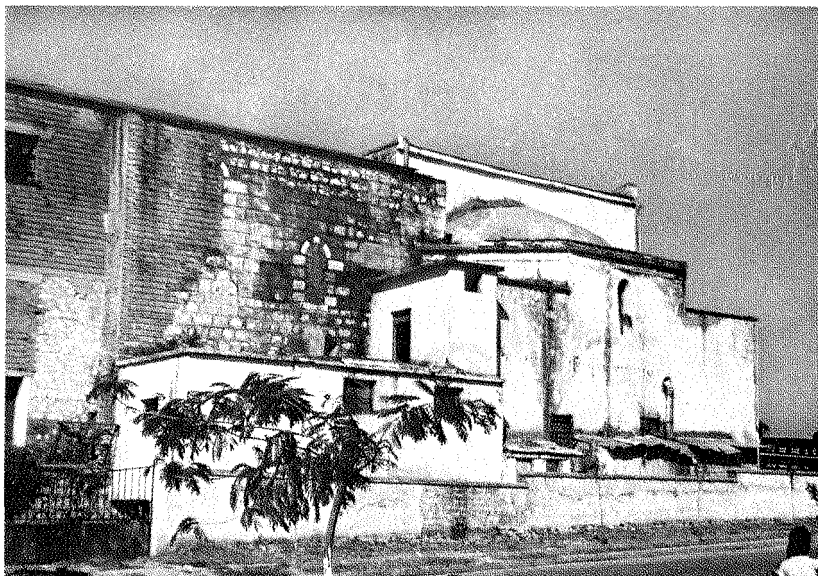


Turbe (mausoleum) of Ahmad Bey
Evrenosoğlu, end 15th century.

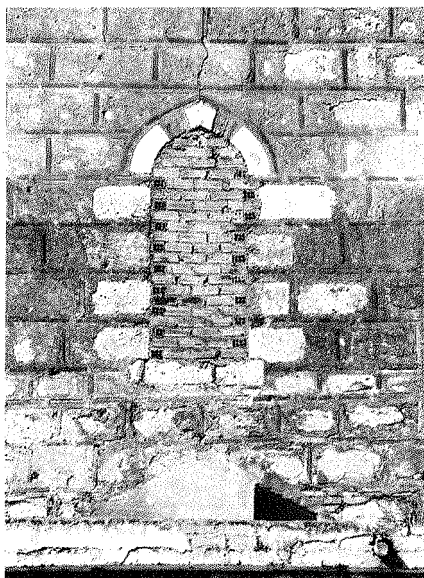


Saat Kule or Clock Tower, built by
the Emir Şerif Ahmad Evrenosoğlu
in the year H. 1167 (= 1753-1754
A.D.).

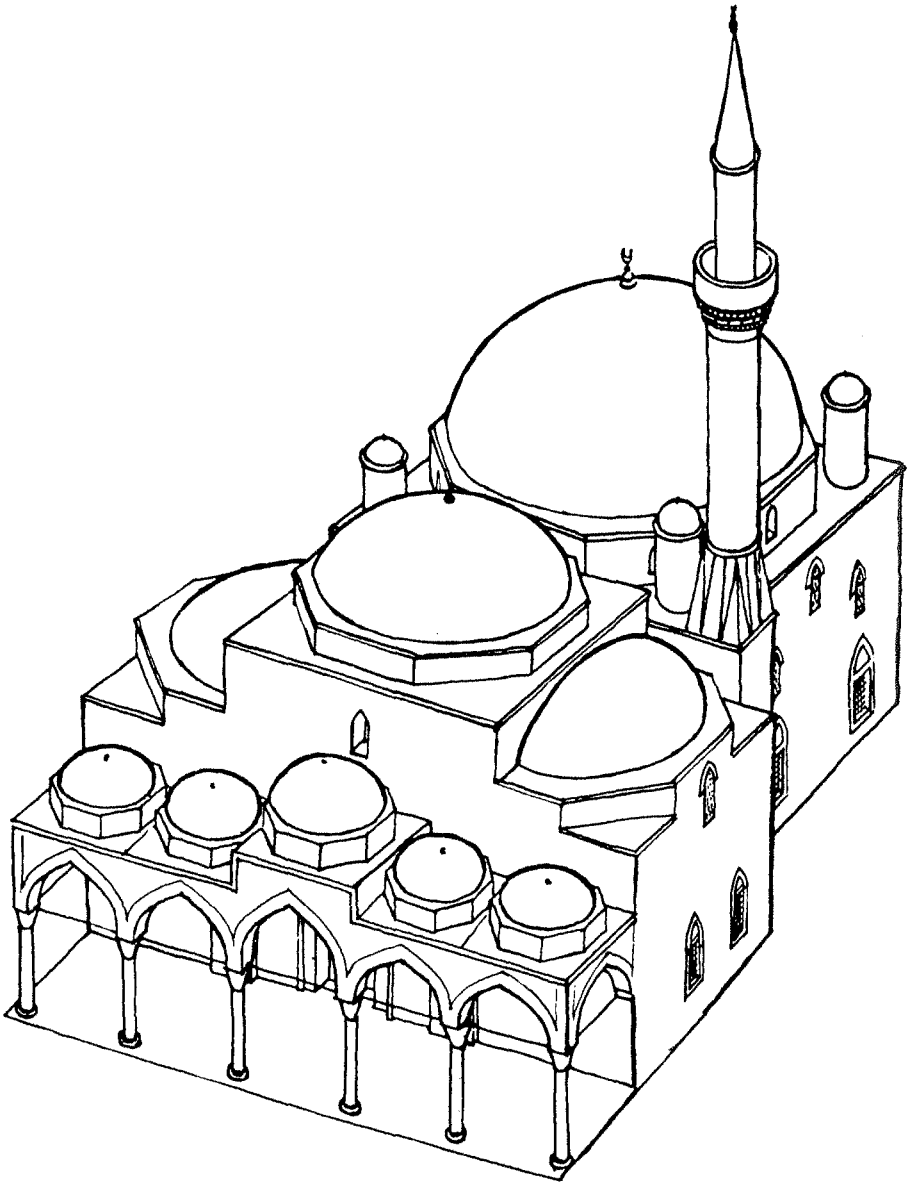


Plate II.

Remains of the Great Mosque of Ahmad Bey Evrenosoğlu (end 15th century)
as seen from the east side.



Great mosque, detail of east wall (photo G. Th. de Vries, Landsmeer)

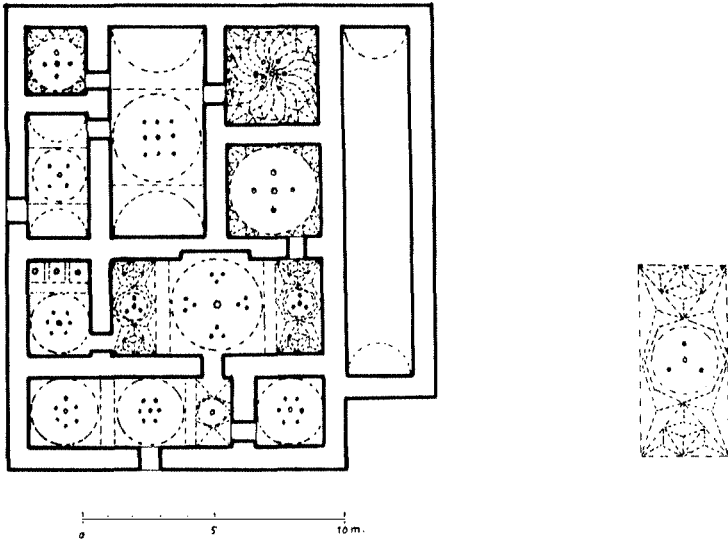


Great Mosque, 1510. Reconstruction Machiel Kiel, drawing Gerd Schneider.

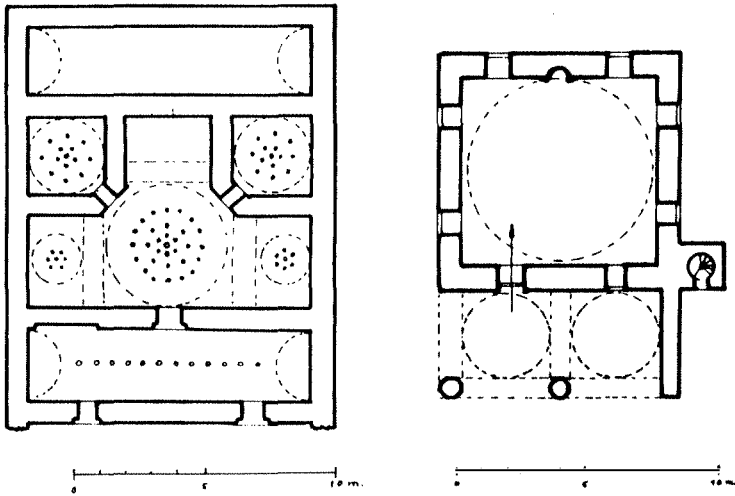
Plate IV

Mosque of Evrenosoglu Ahmad Bey, 1490's. Situation in 1973, after an attempt to demolish it.

Plate V



Hamam of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, 1385/95, plan and detail of vaults.



"Hamam of Sheikh Ilahi", plan.

Mosque of Ahmad Bey 1490s, plan.

(all plans by the author)

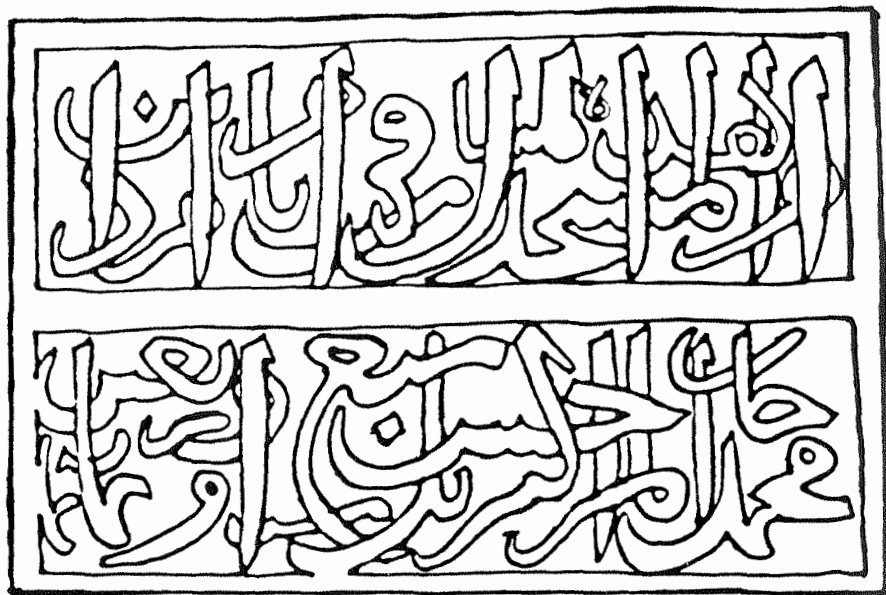


Plate VI.

Hamam of Evrenosoğlu Ahmad Bey, 1490's.



Vize, Mosque of Sarabdar Hasan Bey, H. 847, 1443.



Vize, Mosque of Sarabdar Hasan Bey, inscription.

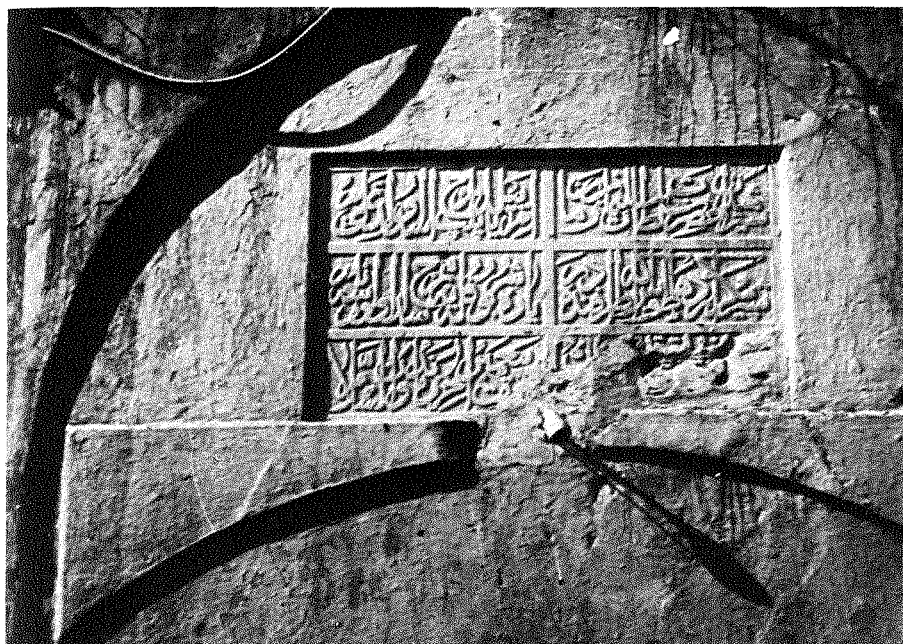


Plate I. Founder Inscription of White Tower, Thessaloniki. Photograph from before 1912, (courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens).

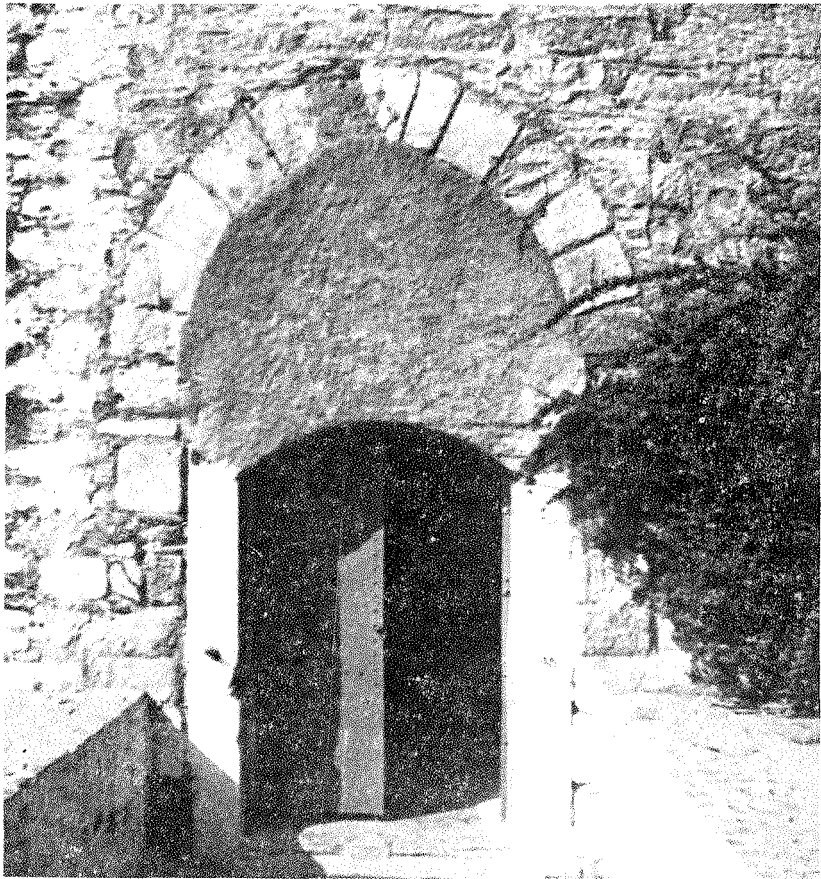


Plate II. White Tower, Thessaloniki. The entrance as it is to be seen now after the removal of the inscription.

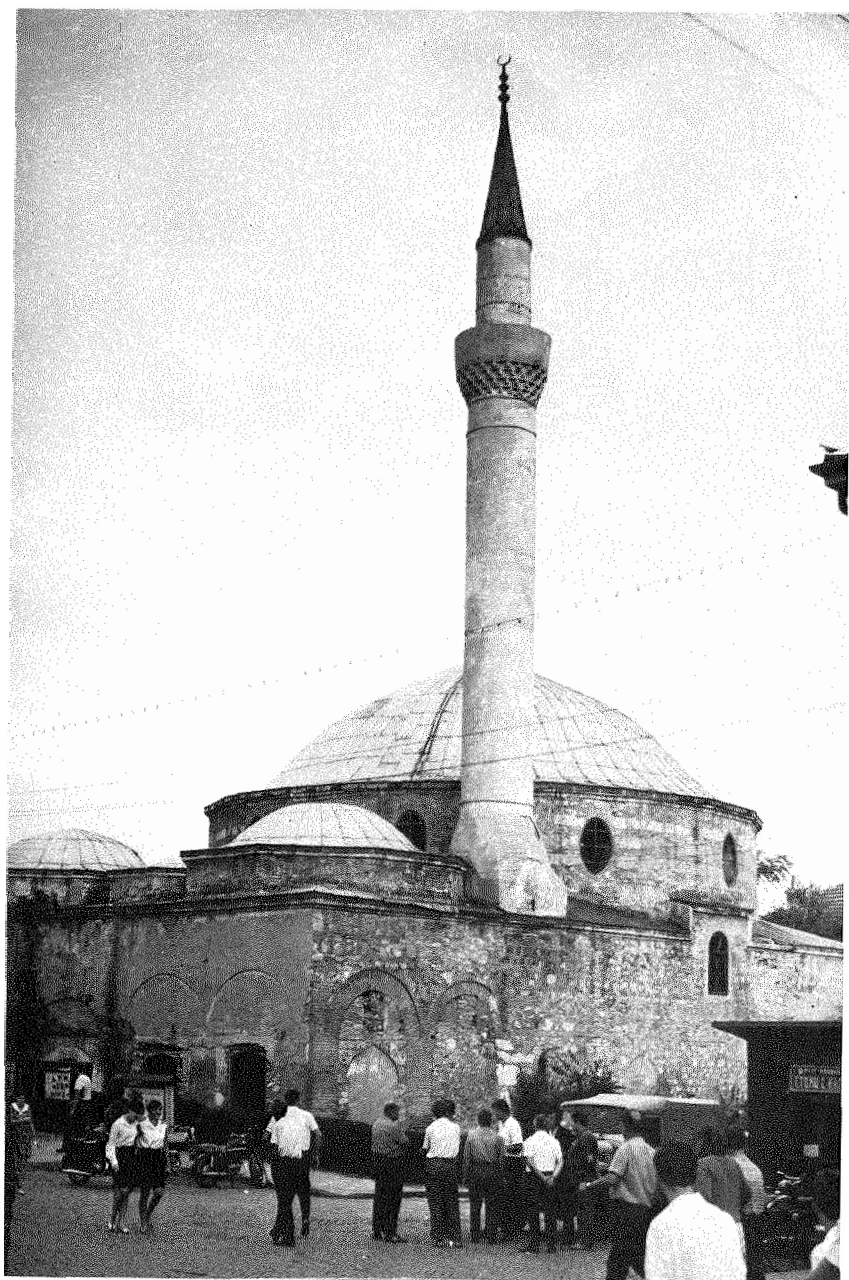
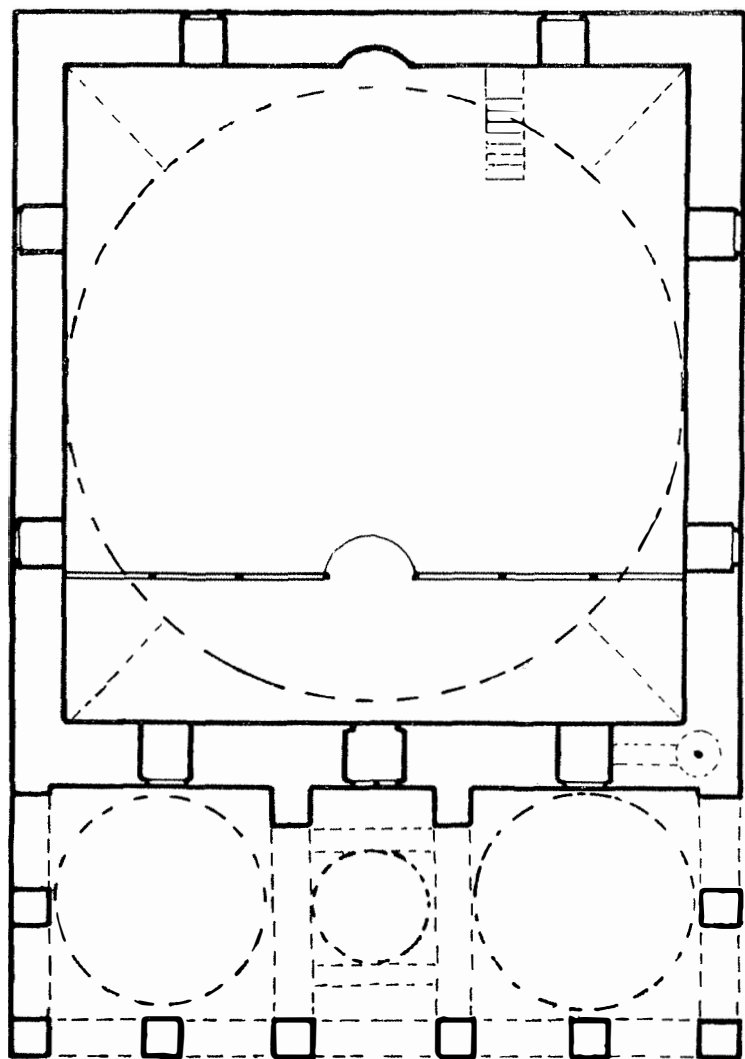


Fig. 1 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque or Eski Camii, 1409.
General View in 1970, before restoration.



Stara Zagora Hamza Bey Mosque

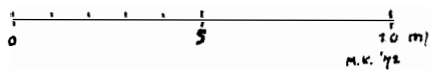


Fig. 2 — Stara Zagora. Hamza Bey Mosque. plan

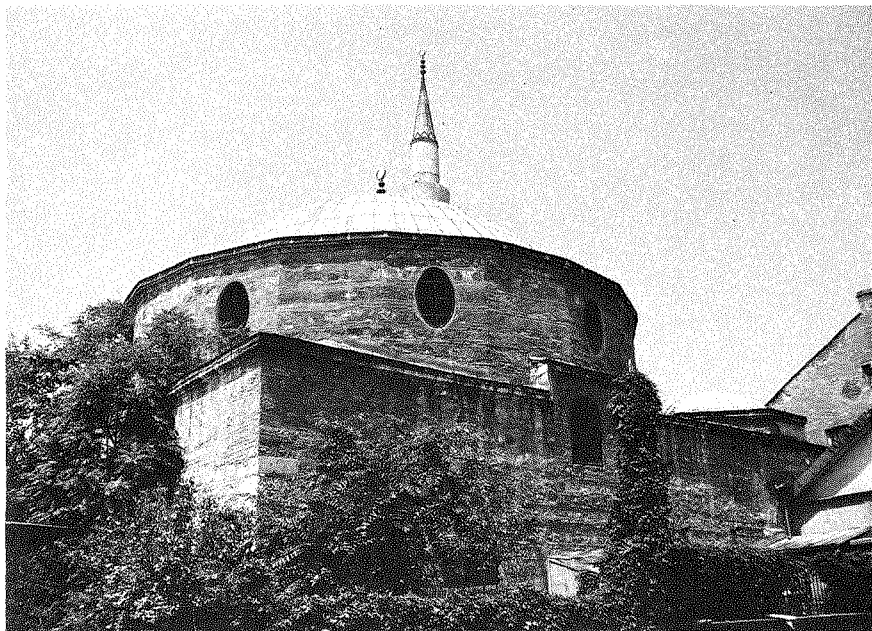


Fig. 3 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque, view of eastern and south – eastern wall. Situation 1970, minaret and crescent on the great dome still standing.

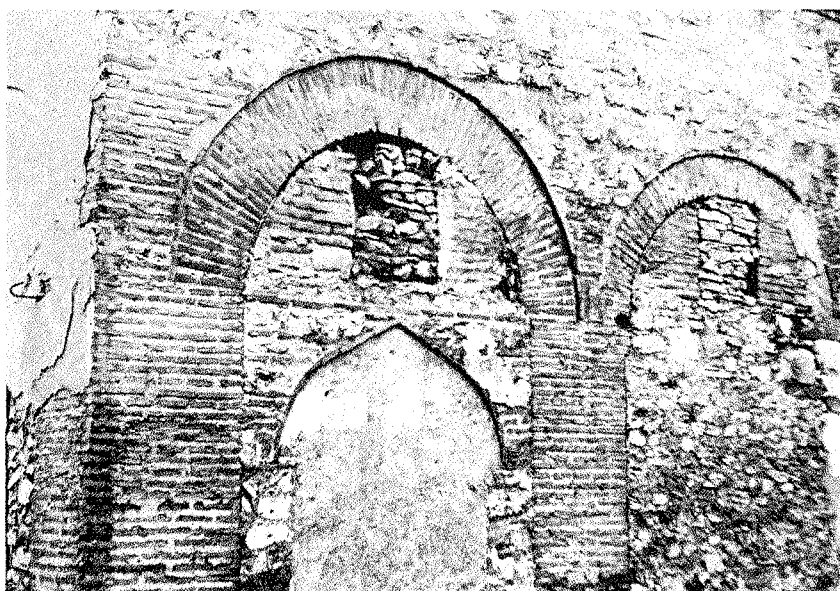


Fig. 4 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque, detail of walled-up portico, 1970.



Fig. 5 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque, interior view



Fig. 6 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque, interior. The paintings and the decoration of the mihrab go back to an early 19th century restoration.



Fig. 7 — Stara Zagora, Hamza Bey Mosque in 1985 restoration almost completed



Fig. 8 — Stara Zagora, Mosque of Hamza Bey. Situation Spring of 1989, the mosque is castrated, minaret and crescent on the dome are gone.



Fig. 9 — Jambol, Eski Camii. General view in 1970. Note the enclosed 'son cemaat yeri' and its walled-up arches. A small door has been made from a window.

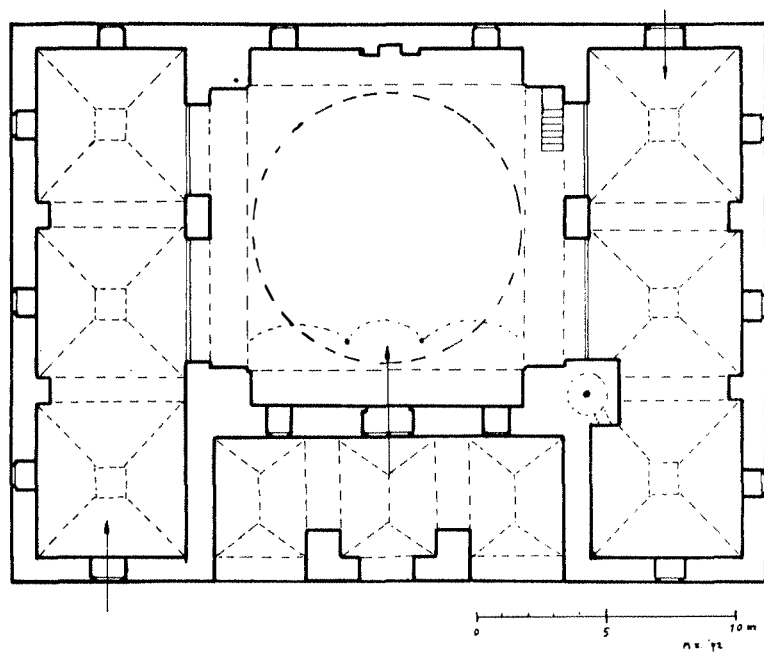


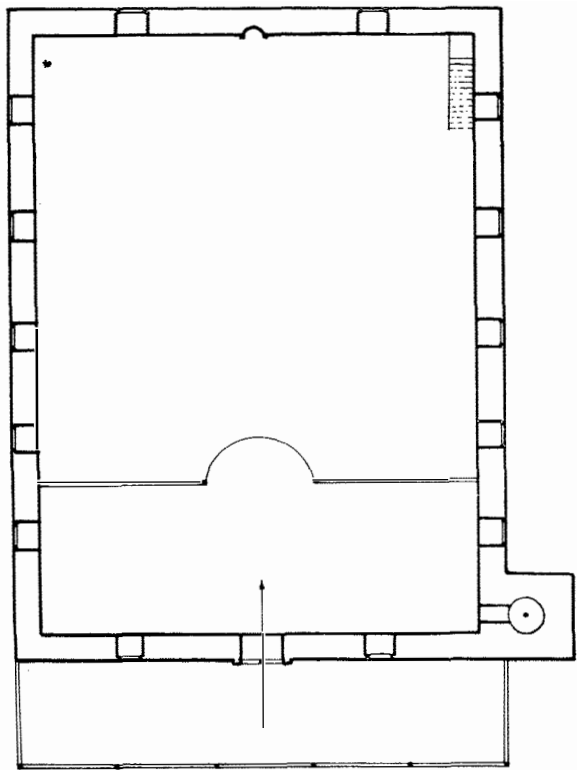
Fig. 10 — Jambol, Eski Cami, plan



Fig. 11 — Jambol, Eski Cami, interior view



Fig. 12 — Jambol, Eski Camii in course of restoration, 1984. Photo: Prof. Frederick de Jong.



Nova Zagora Mosque of Sarica Pasha sketch plan

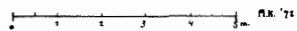
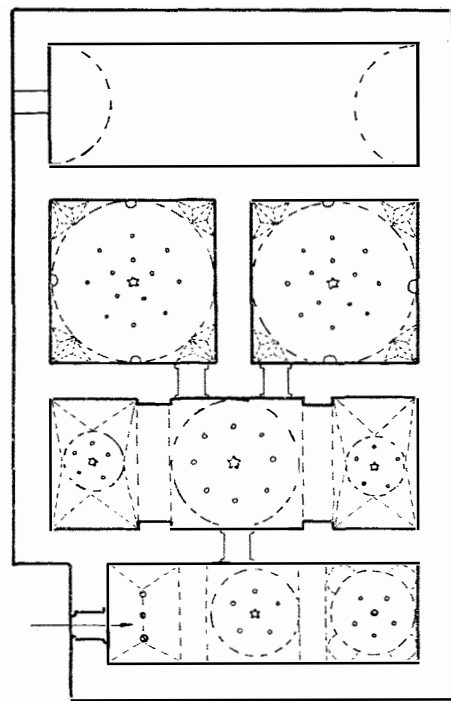


Fig. 13 — Nova Zagora, Mosque of Sarica Pasha, sketch plan



Nova Zagora Hamam of Ali Pasha plan

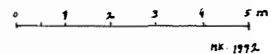
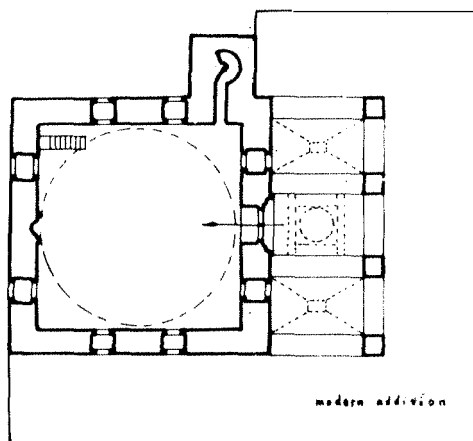
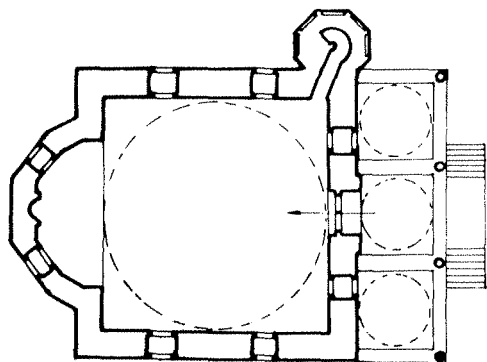


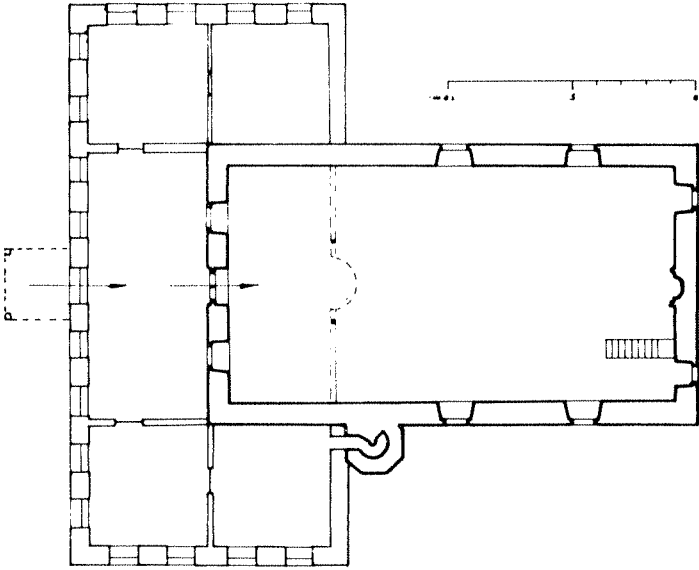
Fig. 14 — Nova Zagora, Hamam of Ali Pasha, plan



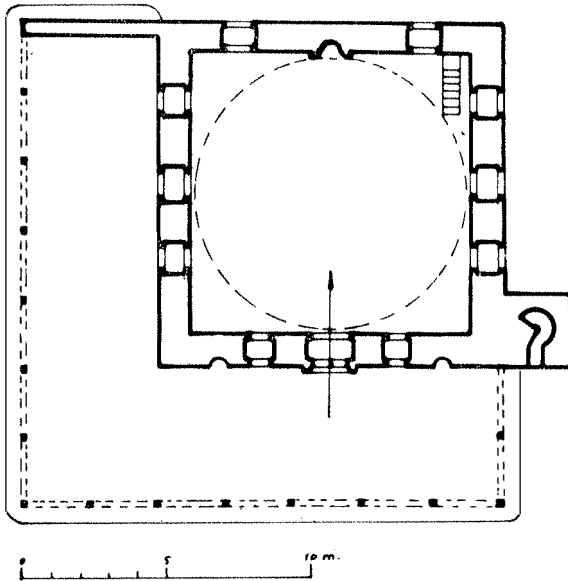
Kumanovo, Tatar Sinan Bey Mosque



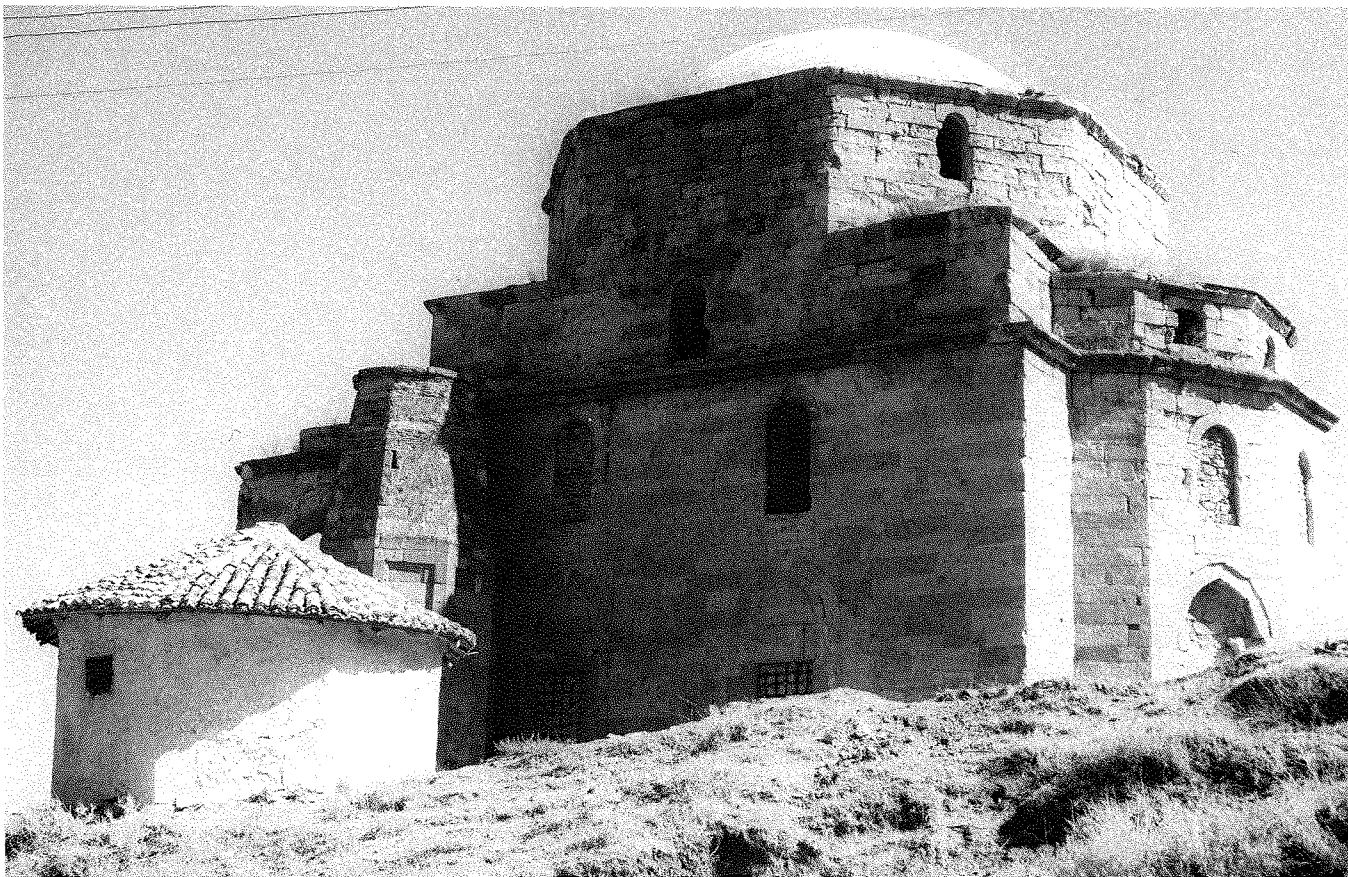
Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha



Prilep, Çarşı Câmi'i.



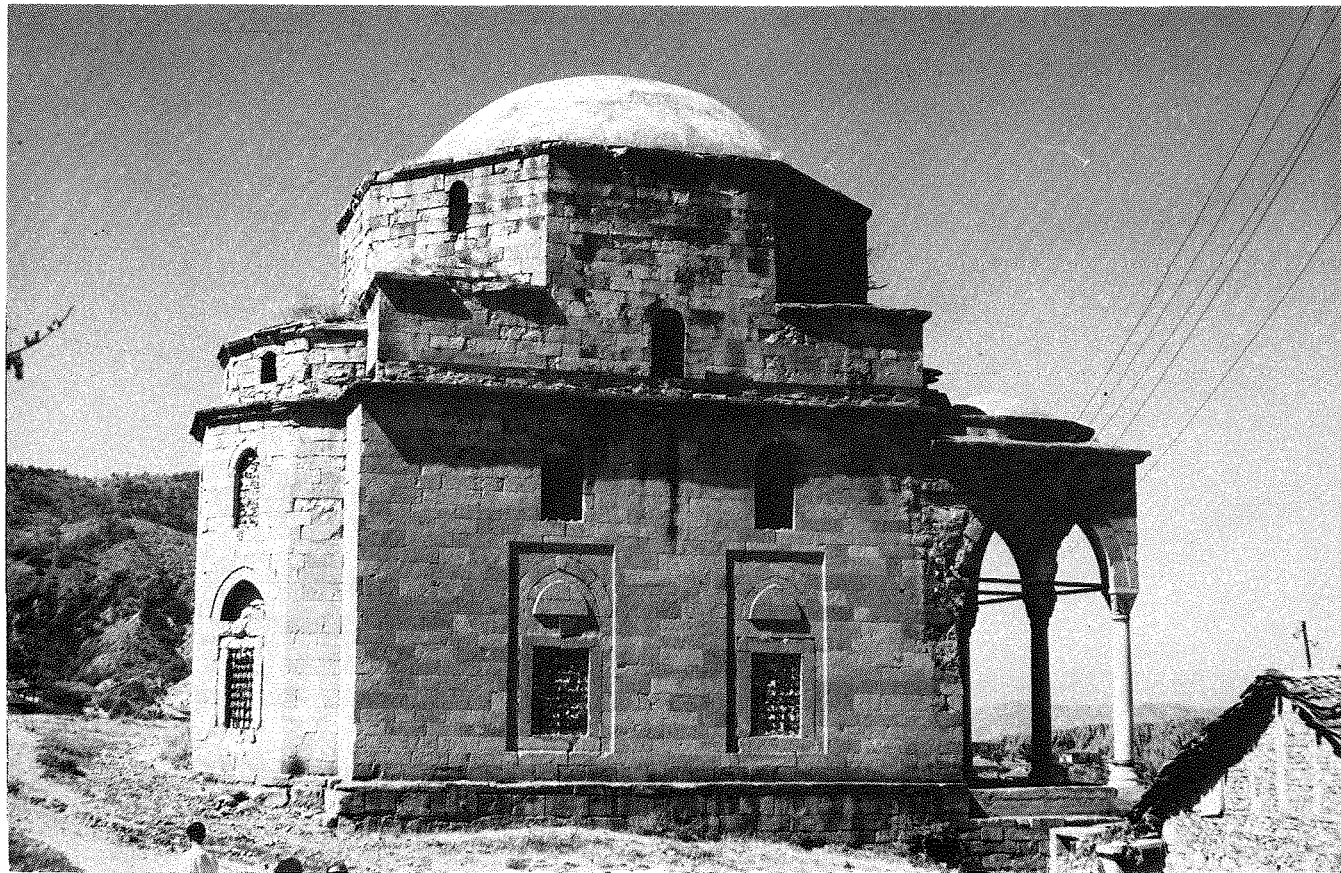
Strumica, Orta Câmi'
(With reconstructed gallery)



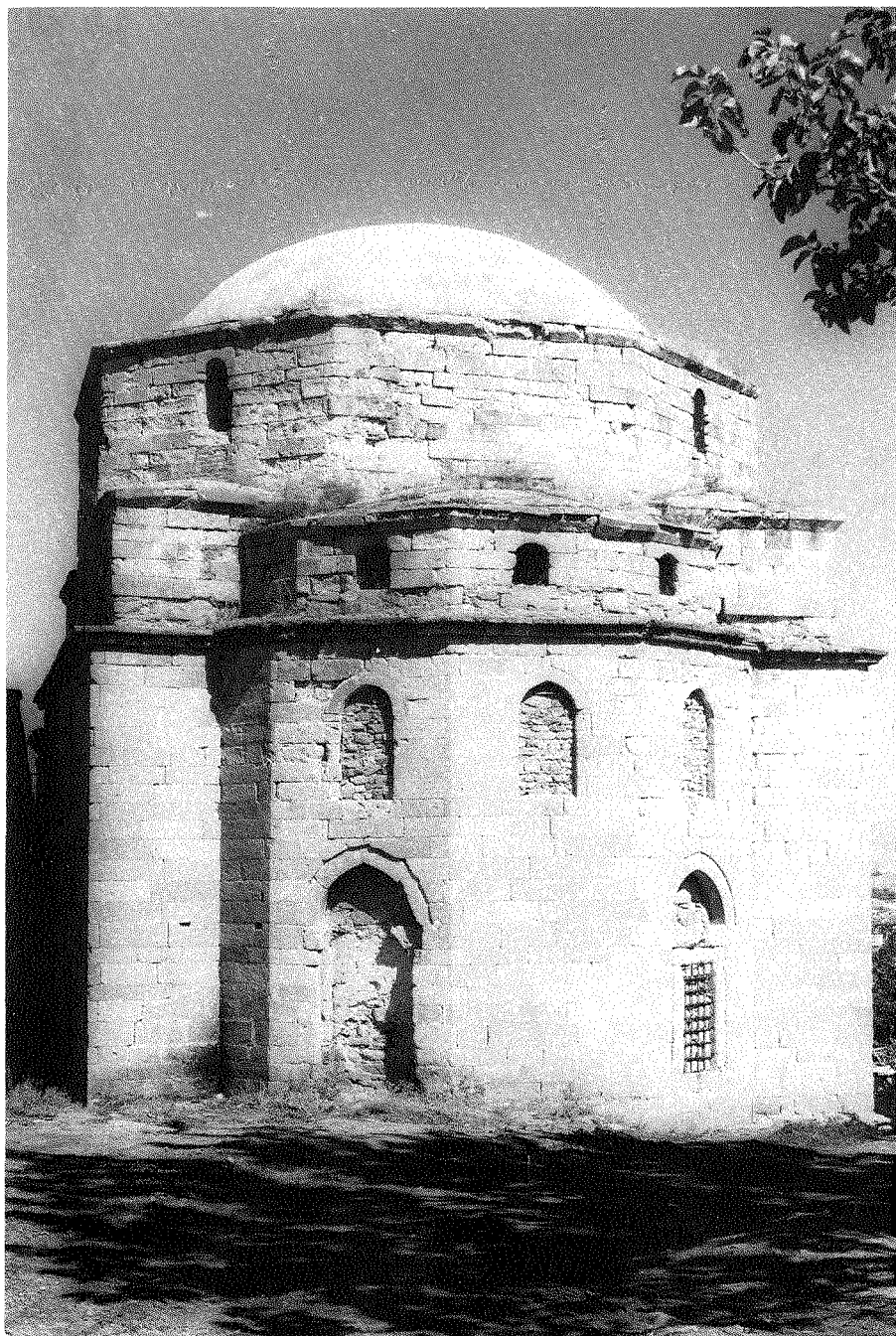
1 — Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha, third quarter of 16th century



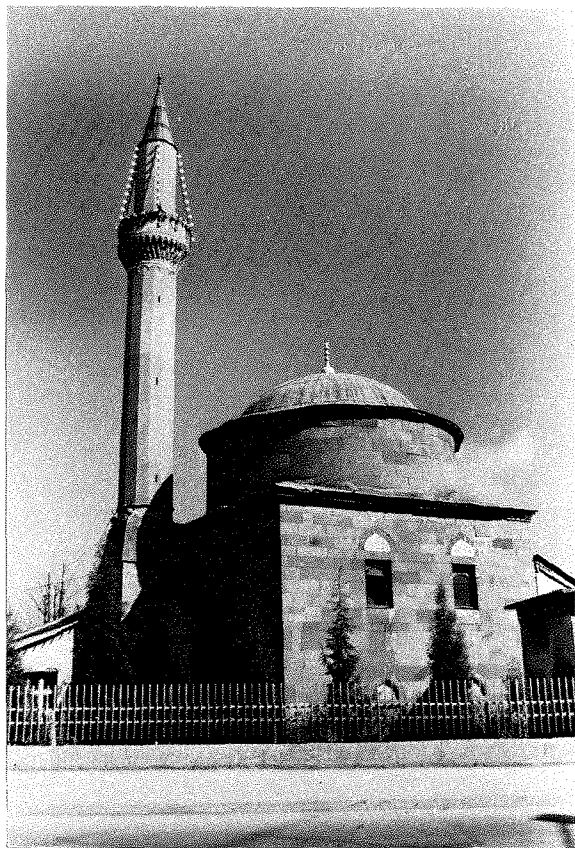
2 — Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha, portico (1989).



3 — Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha, North - Eastern façade.



4 — Štip, Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha, rear view



5 — Kumanovo, Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey,
general view, (1989).



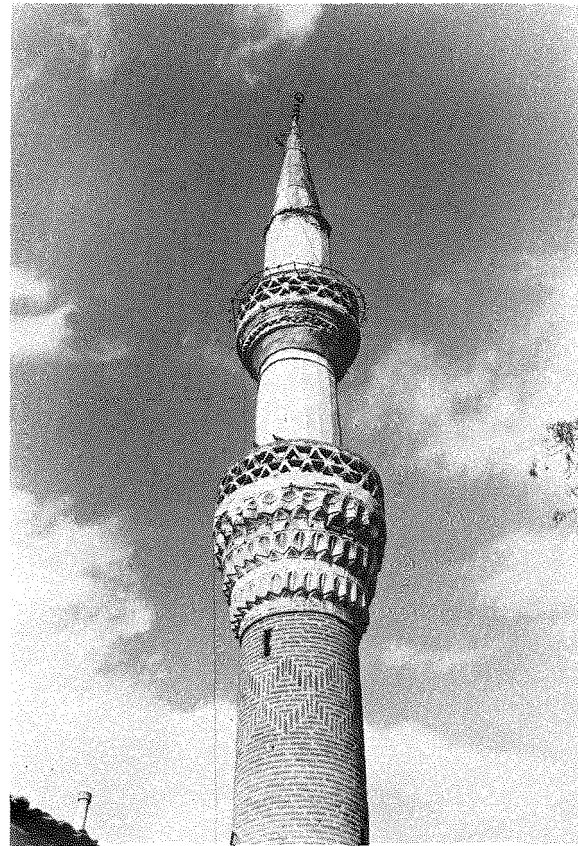
6 — Kumanovo, Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey,
detail of masonry and decoration.



7 — Prilep, Çarşı Camii and Clock Tower.



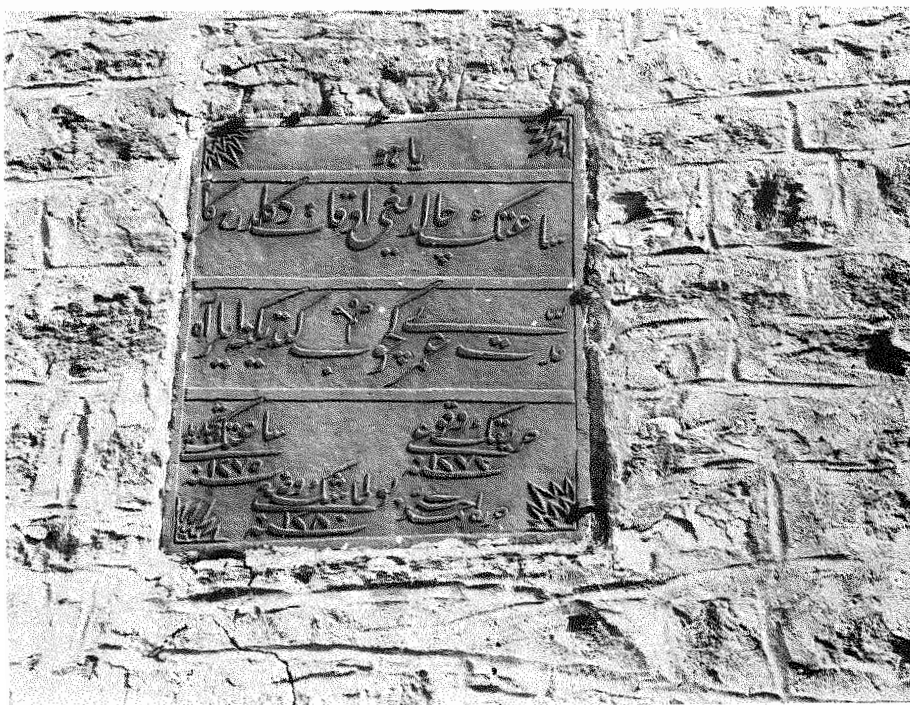
8 — Prilep Çarşı Camii, oldest part, 1476/77.



9 — Prilep, Çarşı cami'i, detail of minaret.

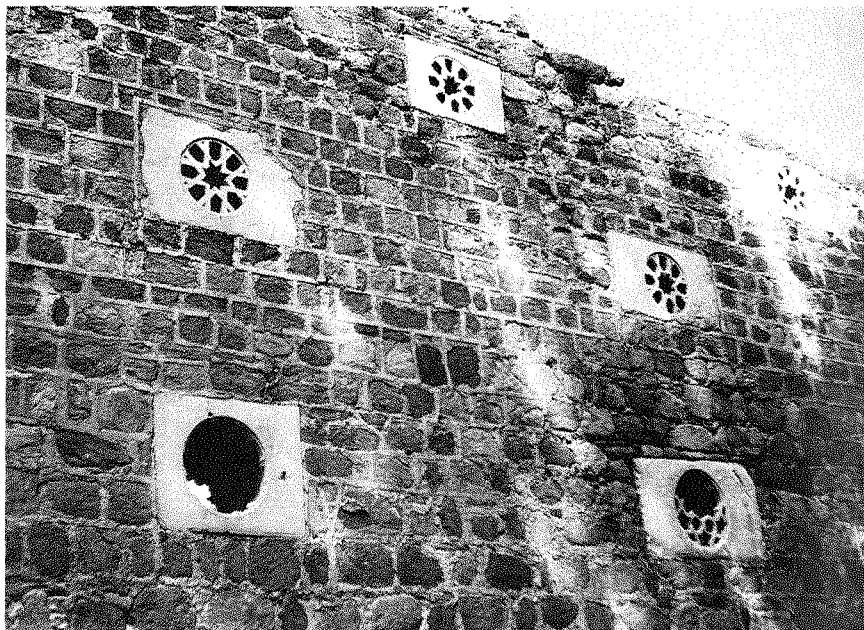


10 — Prilep, Çarşı cami'i, original inscription.





12 — Prilep, ruin of Kervanseray, inside.



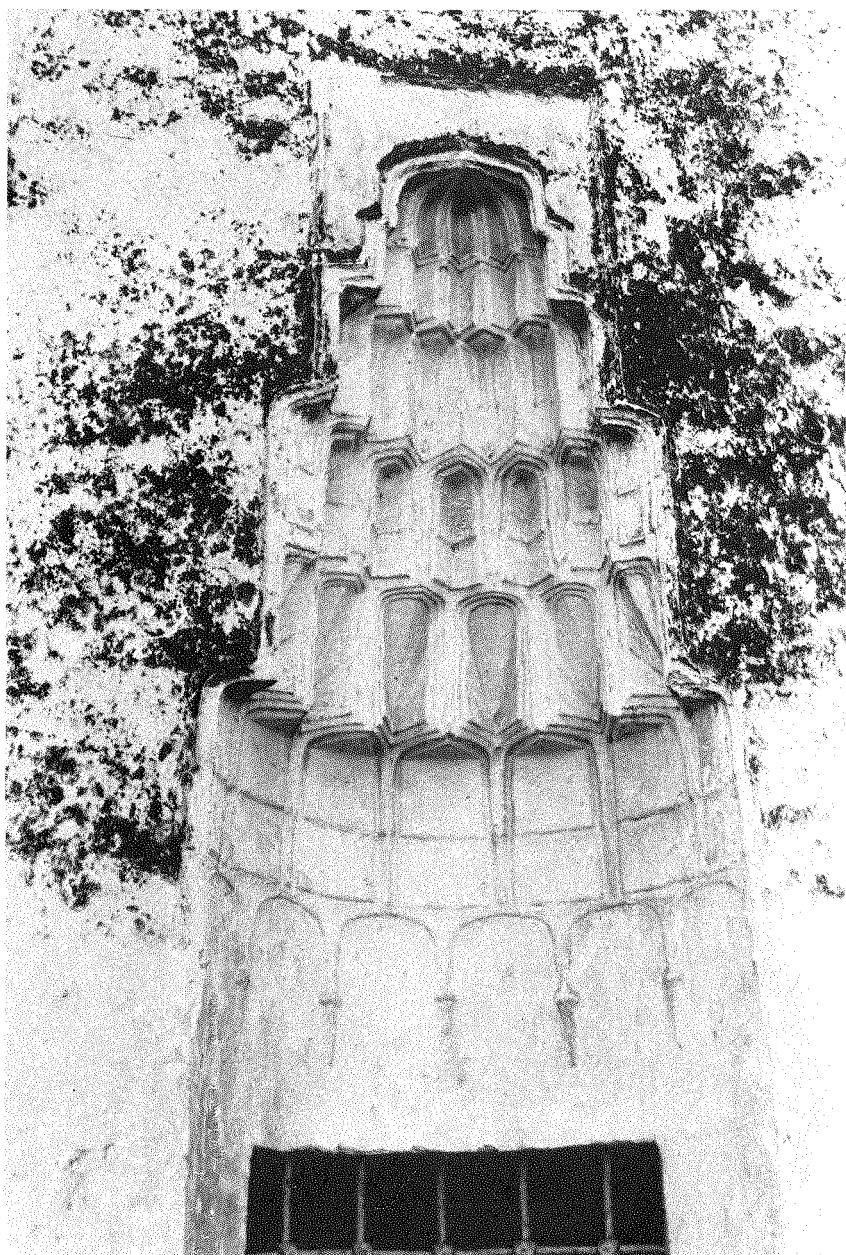
13 — Prilep, ruin of Kervanseray, detail windows.



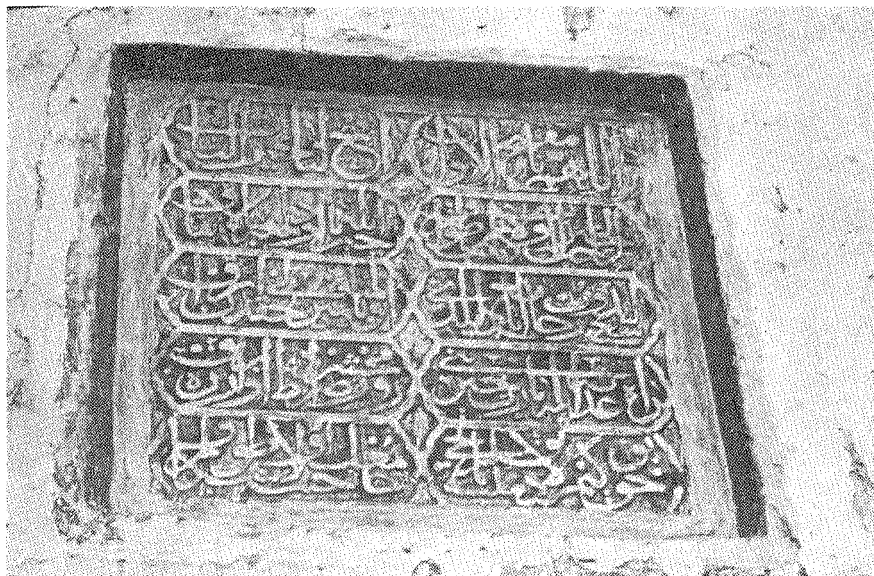
14 — Strumica, Orta Cami', general view, (1969).



15 — Strumica, Orta Cami', the collapsed wooden portico. (1989).



16 — Strumica, Orta Cami' , detail of mihrab in portico.



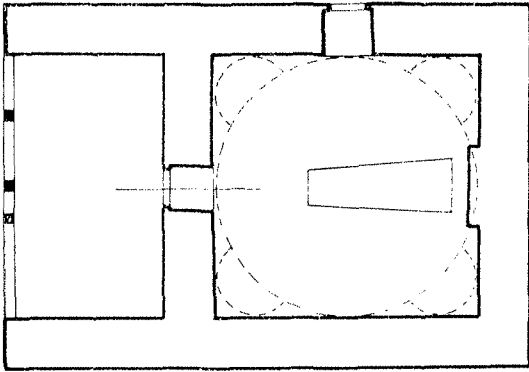
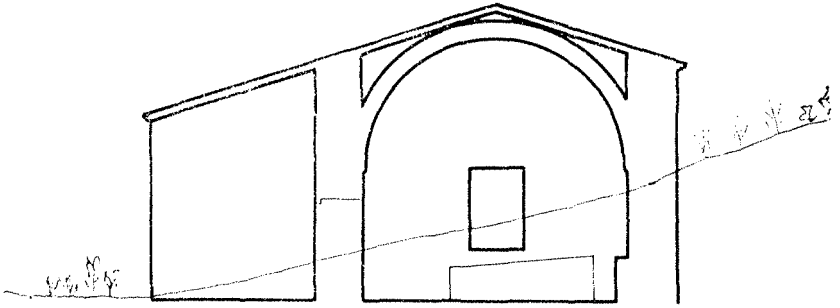
17 — Strumica, Orta Cami' , inscription of 1613.



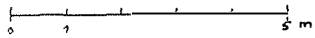
18 — Banitsa, Village Mosque, detail of masonry.



19 — Banitsa near Strumica, Village mosque, 1550/60.



Türbe of Sarı Saltık Dede at
Babadag,
Plan and section. 1876





1. Mosque and türbe of Ghazi Ali Pasha at Babadag (1620).



2. View over Babadag taken from the entrance of the türbe of Sari Saltik. To the right the "Mountain of the Father" to which the town owes its name.



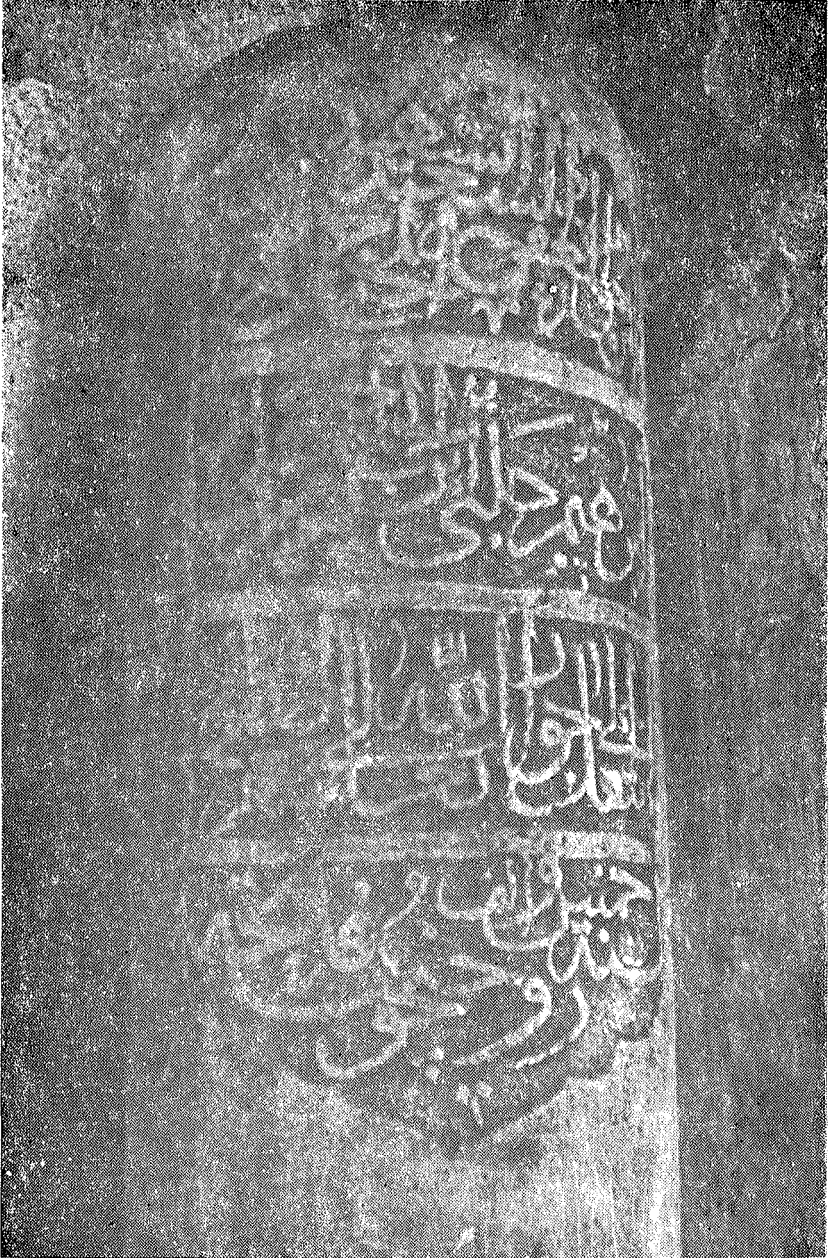
3. Babadag, Türbe of Sari Saltik Dede, seen from the rear (before restoration). In the background the "Mountain of the Father".



4. Babadag, Türbe of Sarı Saltık Dede, façade (before restoration).



5. Babadag, Türbe of Sarı Saltık Dede, façade (before restoration).



6. Babadag, Türbe of Sarı Saltık Dede, gravesone of İbrahim Çelebi from 1050 (1640). Only epigraphical monument of the Ottoman period preserved in Babadag.



Fig. 1. Example of ornamental brickwork.
Fethiye Cami 1430/35, Kustendil, West Bulgaria.



Fig. 2. Continuation of old Seljuk masonry techniques.
Üç Şerefeli Cami 1435/45, Edirne, Turkish Thrace.



**Fig. 3. A "stern and well-balanced appearance",
Eski Cami early 16th Century, Lüleburgaz, Turkish Thrace.**

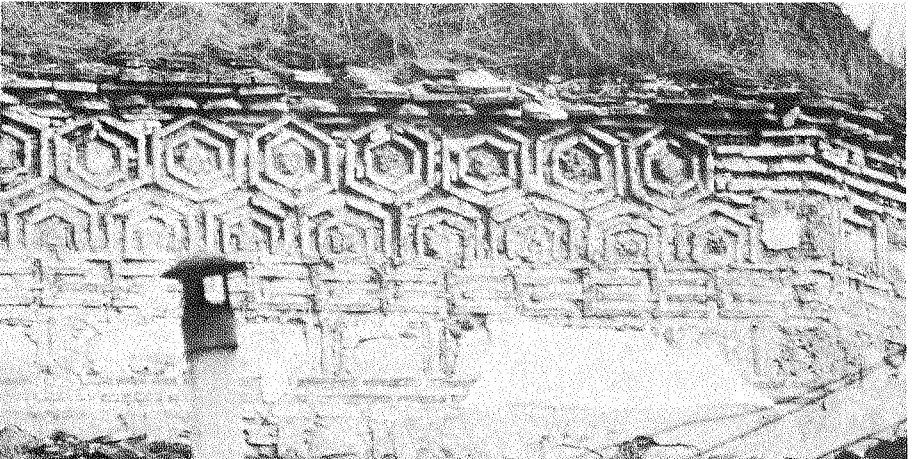


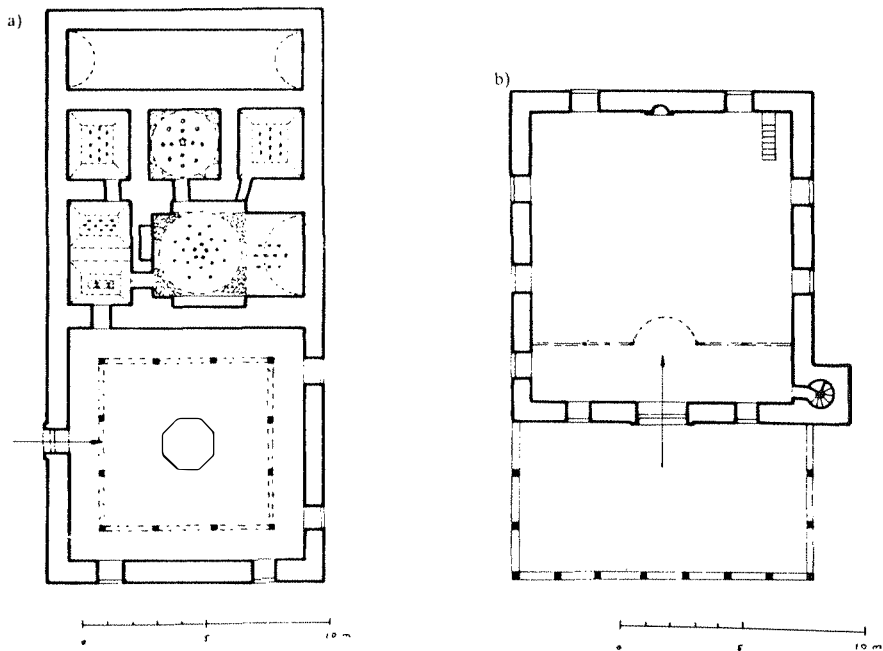
Fig. 4. A remarkable example of a conservative style using the decorative brickwork long



Fig. 5. Example of a "Bosnian dome" built of small blocks of roughly cut stone without the use of pots. Beğluk Cami, Livno, Bosnia.



Fig. 6. Example of a true Ottoman dome built of brick and equipped with rows of pots to absorb reverberation. Dikkancik Cami 1550/51, Skopje, Jugoslav Macedonia..



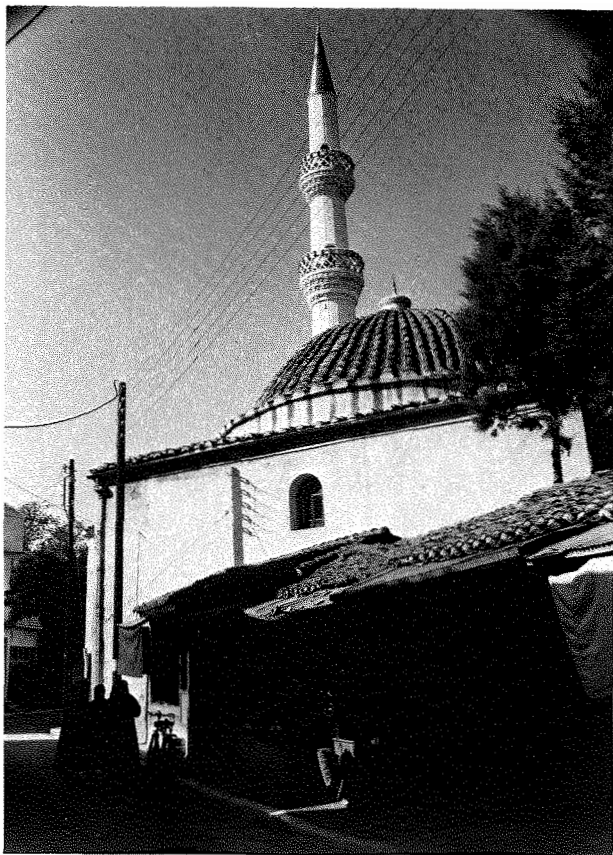
- a) Karnobat, Hamam of Rakkas Sinan Bey second half of 15th century. Plan, M.K.
 b) Karnobat, Kara Cami. reconstructed in 1241 H (1825/26) by Halil Ağa, Ayân of Karnobat. Plan, M.K.



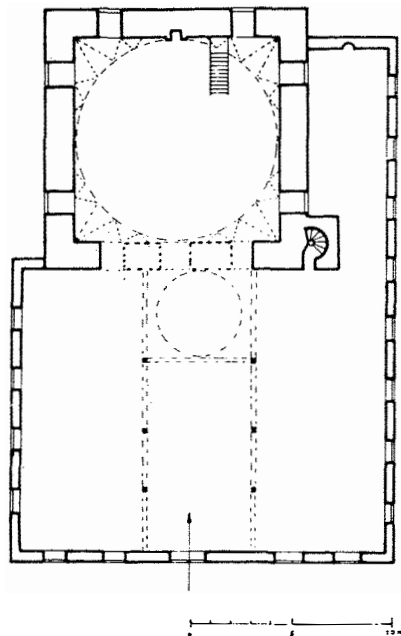
Karnobat. The humble Ottoman town centre: the 15th century hamam of Rakkas Sinan Bey in the middle, the early 19th century Kara Cami and Clock Tower at either end of the picture.



Didymoteichon, ruins of the Hamam of Oruç Pasha, 1398/99. (1989).



1 *Güşmülcine*, Eski Cami, late 14th century (minaret and plaster work 19th, early 20th century).



GÜMÜLCINE - Komotini, Eski Cami

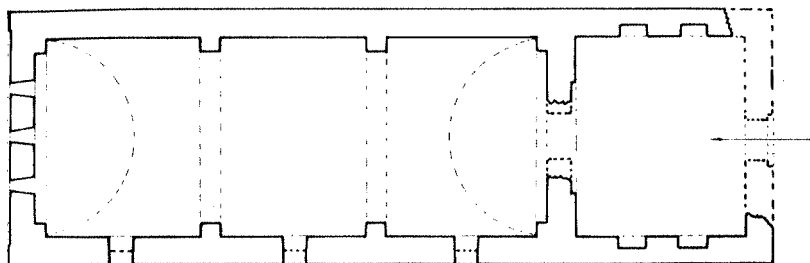
□ = original 14th century parts

▭ = mid 19th century additions M.K. '82

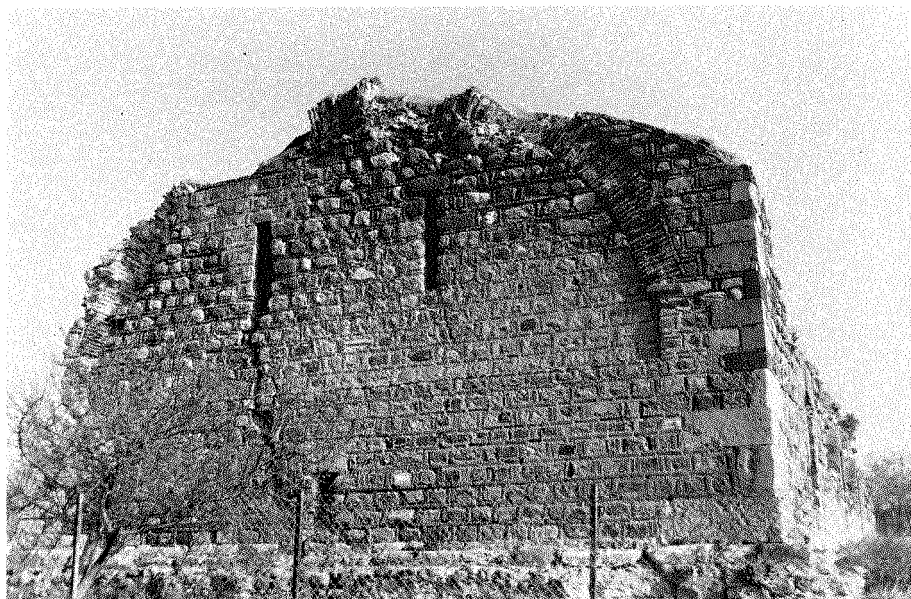


2. Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret. Rear view.

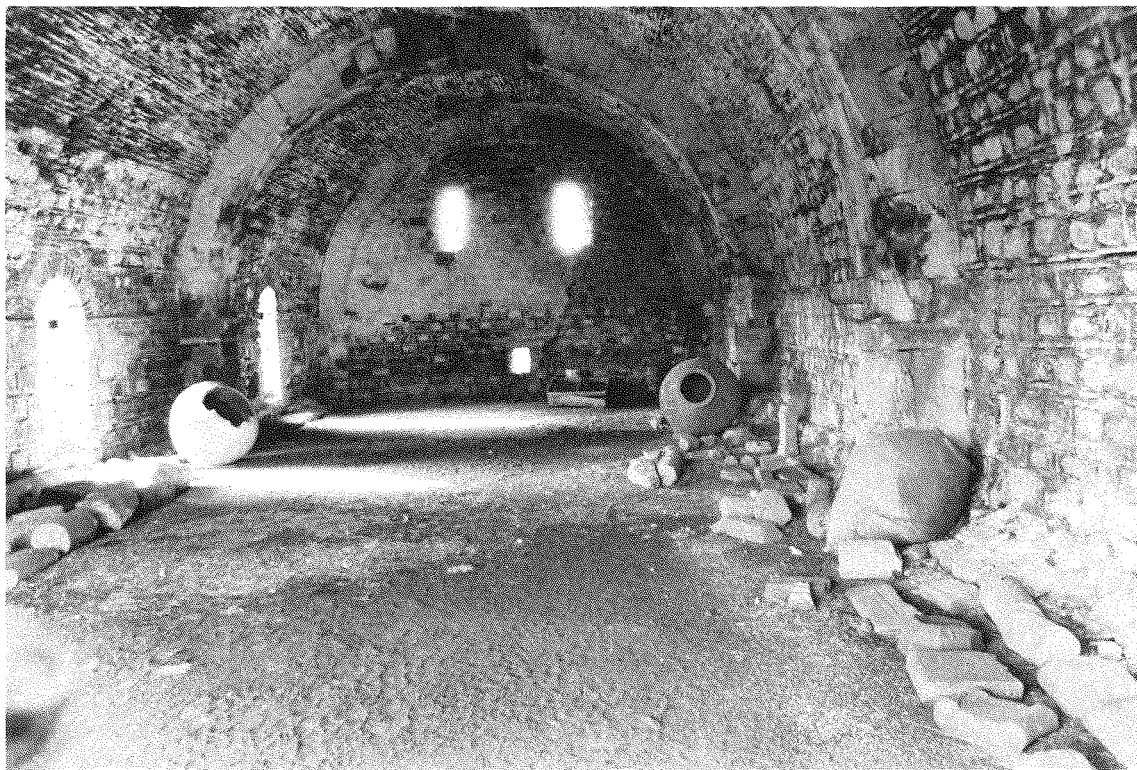
NOTE: For a plan and other illustrations of the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, see the plates to Study (III).



Ilica-Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey
M.K. '82.



3 *Ilica* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, general view.



4 *Itea* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century. Interior view



5 *Ilca* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, detail of the masonry.



6 *Ilca* - Loutra, Mineral Baths of Grand Vezir Koca Davut Pasha (1485 - 1497).

